

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW



The Return of the Turk

By Frank H. Simonds

Factors in the Near Eastern Crisis

By William T. Ellis

Modern Greeks at Close Range

By Lawrence H. Baker

Meaning of the New Tariff

By Philip G. Wright

The Tariff and the Cost of Living

By David Friday

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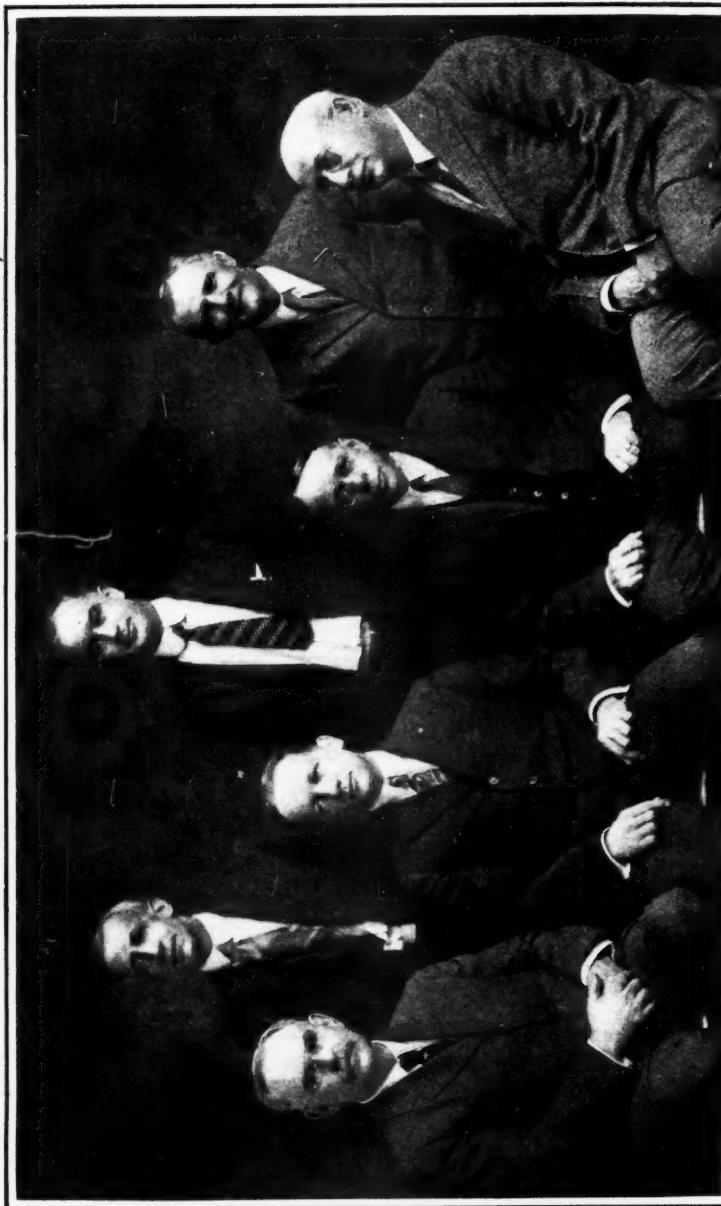
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TERMS:—Issued monthly, 35 cents a number, \$4.00 a year in advance in the United States and Canada. Elsewhere \$4.50. Entered at New York Post Office, as second-class matter. Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions.

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 30 Irving Place, New York

Pacific Coast Office, 327 Van Nuys Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANFER, Sec. and Treas.



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THE UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION, WHICH DERIVES GREAT IMPORTANCE FROM THE NEW LAW

(Articles in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS explain the enhanced authority of the Tariff Commission under the Fordney-McCumber Law. The President is empowered, under certain conditions, to alter the rates of duty on particular items, but he will not exercise this power until the Tariff Commission has investigated and made report to him with recommendations. It is expected that these functions will not be merely nominal, but that they will inaugurate a new method by which the tariff may be kept elastic and may be subjected to gradual revision. Seated, from left to right in this group, are: William S. Culbertson, vice-chairman; Thomas O. Marvin, chairman, and Thomas Walker Page. Standing, from left to right, are: Edward P. Costigan, John F. Bethune, secretary, and David J. Lewis)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXVI

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, 1922

No. 5

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Armistice Day and Its Meaning

On November 11 everybody in the civilized world will have been duly reminded that four years have elapsed since the Armistice was signed and the guns ceased firing along the battlefield that extended across France. Anniversaries in themselves are arbitrary affairs, and there is no reason in cold logic for using one date rather than another to remind ourselves of some past event of an historical character. But cold logic in the affairs of mankind needs the support of warm sentiment. Anniversaries are valuable chiefly because they can be used so conveniently to help a large number of people to think in a purposeful way about

the same things at the same time. Thus it was neither half an accident nor yet half a play to the world's galleries that led to the fixing of Armistice Day one year ago for the opening of our great Conference at Washington on the problems of the Pacific and the Far East. It was a fine and sincere use of an anniversary to lend depth and strength to the appeal of President Harding for real measures looking to a substitution of the rules of law and reason for the rule of force. The delegates from many nations joined the United States at the Arlington National Cemetery in paying tribute to the sacrifices made on behalf of a better world by the men who laid down their lives, and by the women and children whose suffering in that period of warfare had been endured in the earnest hope that wars might cease. Armistice Day, then, as each succeeding November brings another anniversary, is to remind us of the supreme need of justice in the relations of men and nations, and of the duty that still belongs to us—not less than it belongs to others—to give our best thought and effort to the establishment of peace upon true foundations.

Gains and Delays

In the retrospect of the year, the Washington Conference stands out as the most satisfactory of various efforts not so much intended to bring back "normal" conditions, as to stabilize the world on new and better principles. The Genoa Conference and other meetings in Europe were written down as disappointing in their results, if not as total failures. In the long run, however, those attempts at agreements for the economic restoration of Europe will doubtless look more creditable than they were regarded at the moment. There had to be a beginning of short-range interchange of views that should include Russians and



"FAR FROM THE MADDING CLOUD!"

From the *Bystander* (London, England)

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Germans. It became evident that more time must elapse before the larger situation would be ripe for treatment upon lines of bold policy. The European peoples had to live still longer with their separate problems before they could find a way to deal with the most pressing of their collective interests. Thus Armistice Day of 1922 fails to dawn upon that picture of a harmonized Europe which had been so ardently anticipated by certain European statesmen. Yet there remains reason to hope that brighter skies may be visible when we reach the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Armistice, one year hence.

History—Its Making and Teaching One particular advantage in observing historical anniversaries is the help they afford in the teaching of history. On October 12, we celebrated Columbus Day. This has become a legal holiday in thirty-two of our forty-eight States. In recent years millions of Americans have learned things about history and geography that only thousands knew before the Great War. There had been vast shifts of population in earlier historic eras, such, for instance, as the migrations that broke up the Roman Empire. But nothing else in all history means so much to us as the movements

that resulted from the eagerness of Europe to utilize the discovery of North and South America. Columbus Day, rightly observed, should not only remind school-teachers and newspapers to impress many lessons of modern history, but should be made to assist in enabling everyone to understand better the problems of the nations, and the essential things that peoples of European origin have in common. The recurrence of Columbus Day should be definitely used to encourage a wider reading and study of the history of the past five centuries. The reader soon discovers that the history of North and South America has at all times since Columbus been inevitably associated with the history of the European peoples.

Columbus Day and Its Reminders No lesson emerges more clearly from a real study of modern history as dating from the period of Columbus than the impossibility of securing the happiness, peace, and welfare of any particular nation or region, without reference to the well-being of many other regions and peoples. Columbus Day this year has reminded us of progress in Brazil, where they are celebrating the centennial of their political independence, and it has suggested, as among the great events of the past year, the decision of Chile and Peru to settle their differences by arbitration under the auspices of the United States Government. Every new forward step in Western-Hemisphere history ought to be recounted on each recurring celebration of Columbus Day. For instance, Columbus landed in the West Indies, and his fame is especially identified with the Island of Santo Domingo. It is to be especially noted therefore that Columbus Day last month coincided nearly enough with the announcement of plans for the withdrawal of Uncle Sam from that direct control of the affairs of the Republic of Santo Domingo that has been exercised for a number of years past in the interest of domestic peace and order, and for the better protection of the West Indies from foreign aggression. We have recently published an article in this magazine explaining the policy of the United States in the Republics of Santo Domingo and Haiti. The most difficult problems in the Western Hemisphere continue to be those that center about the reconstruction of the affairs of Mexico. Generally speaking, however, the recurrence of this year's



THE CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS STATUE AT SANTO DOMINGO CITY

(The explorer landed on the island of Haiti in 1492, and a portion of his crew wintered there. The city of Santo Domingo was named for Columbus' father, Domenico.)

Columbus Day found the affairs of the Western Hemisphere, all the way from the Arctic seas to Panama and from Panama to Cape Horn, in decidedly better condition, from the political and economic standpoint, than the year before—and probably better than at any previous time since the era of discovery and colonization. Herein lies a theme that might well be considered and discussed in the history classes of our high schools and colleges. When the next Columbus Day arrives, the peoples of North and South America will have opportunity to recount the experiences of another Pan-American Congress, which is soon to be held at Santiago, the capital of Chile.

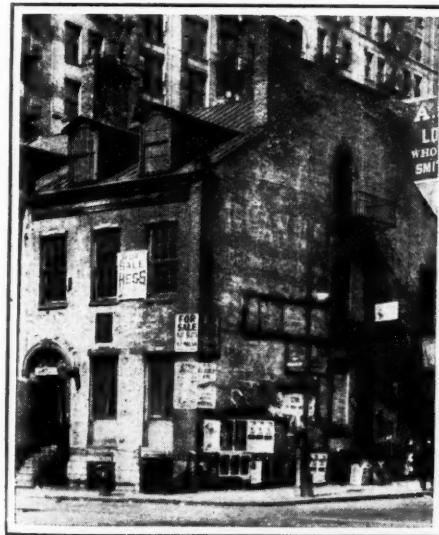
A Century of the Monroe Doctrine When Western Europe was so greatly excited over the discoveries of Columbus and his successors, and when Spain, England, France, Portugal, and Holland competed so adventurously for shares of territory, they were entering upon imperial policies which have been responsible for keeping the world at war a great part of the time for several centuries. These imperial rivalries culminated in the supreme conflict that



THE MONROE PALACE IN RIO JANEIRO, BRAZIL

(Which honors the promulgator of the Monroe Doctrine. The palace is at the entrance to this year's world's fair at Rio which celebrates Brazil's Centenary)

was suspended—though not ended—on Armistice Day, 1918. So far as the Western Hemisphere is concerned, those clashing policies of empire were successfully opposed more than a hundred years ago by the American colonies of the North and the Latinic colonies of the South. But the great historic expression of this challenge of the Western Hemisphere was made in the name of President Monroe in 1823; and we shall next year, therefore, celebrate the centenary of the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine did not mean that the people of the United States through their Government regarded themselves as dominant or as paramount in the Western Hemisphere, but rather that they felt themselves in a position to assume responsibility. Many of the worst wars in the world have occurred because there was lacking that quick assumption of responsibility, by those who might have commanded peace, which would have checked aggression at the outset.



THE NEW YORK HOUSE IN WHICH PRESIDENT MONROE DIED AT PRINCE AND LAFAYETTE STREETS

(After his retirement from the presidency Mr. Monroe spent a part of his time in Virginia, but financial difficulties brought him to New York, where he died in 1831. The New York house in which he lived and died had become dilapidated, but is now to be restored as a Monroe memorial through the efforts of Police Commissioner Enright and others)

We Make Peace "Our Business" For a hundred years the Western Hemisphere has been less afflicted with international wars than other parts of the world; and this favorable showing has been in spite of the fact that civilization has been backward and populations have been turbulent, with domestic order hard to maintain, in many

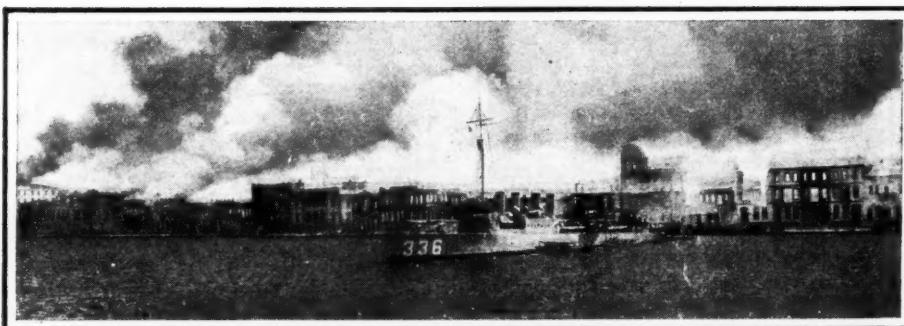
parts of our Western world. The fact that we had served public notice that we were going to make the peace of the Western Hemisphere *our business*, in so far as Europe might be inclined to use the military argument, has served to prevent an indefinite number of conflicts. That the Monroe Doctrine has in practice been a beneficent thing, making for peace and progress, and that it has not in fact been an instrument for "Yankee" aggrandizement, is now sufficiently evident to thoughtful people alike in South America and in Europe. Its prestige will survive a century.

The Turks and Eastern Europe In the period of Columbus, when the Western nations were so excited over the rich spoils that might be gained across the seas, and when the bold spirits were launching ships and cultivating the art of navigation, Eastern Europe had its own problems, and these were of a very different kind. The Turks, having overrun Asia Minor, and having gained territory and power on both sides of the Black Sea, worked their way southward, and about forty years before Columbus discovered America they had taken Europe's great eastern capital, Constantinople. At the very time when the English were beginning to establish colonies in Virginia and Massachusetts, Eastern Europe was desperately struggling to keep the Turks, who had already overrun Hungary, from capturing Vienna. Captain John Smith himself, as an international adventurer, had been fighting against the Turks in Eastern Europe before he came over to Virginia. The Turkish advance had been checked, and Vienna had been saved; but Budapest, the capital of Hungary, was held as a Turkish military stronghold

until 1686. Greece had been made a Turkish territory in 1460, and remained a part of Turkey until the year 1820. The Arabic-speaking Mohammedans, taking control of the whole of North Africa, had crossed the Mediterranean to Spain and had remained in possession of a considerable part of that peninsula until their expulsion in 1212. They would, earlier, have moved on to the possession of Paris but for the historic victory of Charles Martel in 732.

Centuries of Struggle

Through these long centuries the "Eastern question," with its various complications, has had a foremost place in the history of Europe. Gradually the peoples of the Balkan regions began to throw off the Turkish yoke. The Russians redeemed the Crimea, and the provinces that we now call Rumania saw the last of their Turkish rulers in about 1861. The Turks had held Belgrade and dominated Serbia until favorable circumstances emancipated these southern Slavs in 1829. The Bulgarian uprising of 1875 led to Russian intervention, with the consequence of Russia's victory over Turkey in 1877. But for the hostile attitude of England under Disraeli and of Germany under Bismarck, Russia would have swept the Turks out of Europe at that time, opening the passage from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean and holding Constantinople. Again, but for the selfishness of Western Europe, the rising young Balkan states would have driven the Turks out of Europe before the Era of the Great War. When the Turkish Government early in 1915 decided to enter the Great War as an ally of Germany and Austria, it was fully expected in the United States that Allied victory would at last result in expelling



THE WATERFRONT AT SMYRNA, WITH AN AMERICAN DESTROYER WHICH RENDERED GREAT SERVICE TO REFUGEES

the Turks as rulers from Europe forever, and it was further assumed that the reform of government in Asiatic Turkey would eliminate the old system. In the series of treaties resulting from the negotiations at Paris, the one known as the Treaty of Sèvres dealt with Turkey.

The Bad Settlement Instead of providing for a reorganization of the political and economic life of the Turkish Empire in the interest of the inhabitants of all races, the victorious Allies yielded to the temptation of parceling out Turkey among themselves under the pretext of mandates. Russia had fallen away from the Alliance, and the earlier program, under which Constantinople would have been granted to the Russians, was superseded.

The Greeks, with pardonable but unwise ambition, through the influence of Venizelos at Paris secured a mandate to hold Smyrna and much adjacent Asiatic territory. France and England had the largest claims, and the Italians found themselves rivals of the Greeks. The Allies took possession of Constantinople. The Armenian corner of Turkey was regarded as a liability rather than as an asset, and so the Armenians were left to whatever fate might be in store for them. If the Allies had been content to agree upon a program for reconstruction in the interest of all the people living in Turkey, and had not yielded to their own ambitions for territory and empire, they could easily enough have secured acquiescence and made a success of the enterprise. Turkey could have been policed by a local constabulary under international guidance. Its agriculture and trade could have been restored, and agencies for education and public health could have been successfully established and administered. But in their game of greed the Allies did not play fairly with one another, and disasters thick and fast have followed their separate adventures.

Kemal's Amazing Success The Turkish Nationalist movement under Mustapha Kemal did not at first seem so formidable, but it was fanned by the flames of religious fanaticism; and it succeeded beyond its own hopes by the encouragement it received from certain of the Allies as against others. The help that the Greeks received from England was not sufficient to withstand the forces of Kemal, when not only



MUSTAPHA KEMAL, HEAD OF THE TURKISH NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, IN EUROPEAN DRESS, CONFERRING WITH HIS PRINCIPAL MILITARY LEADER, ISMET PASHA

the Soviet Government of Russia but also the policies pursued by the French and the Italians all worked together at a given moment for the expulsion of the Greek armies from Asia Minor, and the reconquest of Smyrna by the Turks. When these things were going on, it was only dimly perceived in Western Europe that the conquering Turks would not be content to remain in Asia and to respect neutral zones along the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles, and the Sea of Marmora. At Constantinople, there remained the Sultan, in nominal authority, but under the complete domination of the British occupying forces. In the Straits was a powerful British fleet. The Kemal Government, with headquarters at Angora, had been outlawed by the Sultan. But, with great victories to its credit, this upstart bandit government was in position to order the abdication of the Sultan; and it astonished the world by demanding that the European lands adjacent to Constantinople, and commonly known as Thrace, should be restored to the Turks. A map accompanying Mr. Simonds' article shows the territories that are involved.



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ADMIRAL MARK L. BRISTOL, UNITED STATES HIGH COMMISSIONER AT CONSTANTINOPLE

(Admiral Bristol is typical of the fine American seamen who have come up through all ranks and served in all parts of the world. He saw duty on the battleship Texas in the Spanish American War; held important commands in the Great War; and has been our principal representative in the Eastern Mediterranean and in Turkish affairs for almost four years)

A Situation of Extreme Danger Most of this district had been awarded to Greece at the end of the war. In a note that will stand in history as perhaps the most abject in all the record of Europe's dealing with Turkey, the Allies on September 23 conceded Thrace to the victorious Turks. If the Balkan States had been harmonious, they could have kept the Turks in Asia without referring the matter in any way to England and France. But their own rivalries and discords had ruined them, one after the other. The people of England so emphatically refused to be drawn into a war on behalf of Greece against the Turks that there was nothing to do but negotiate. It was impossible to reduce the problem to simple terms. There was the imminent possibility of another war that would involve the whole of Europe, inasmuch as Soviet Russia was seemingly intending to participate, while Germany at a given moment might join hands with Moscow. It is those who understand the situation best who realize most keenly its difficulties and dangers. Mr. Simonds presents it for our

readers in this number of the REVIEW with his usual keenness of analysis and his resources of historical study and practical information. Mr. William T. Ellis writes of it all as a student familiar with the East from much recent travel and former residence. Of the Greeks at home we have a delightful description from Lawrence H. Baker, of the Johns Hopkins University, who has lately returned from a long visit.

Dickering and Its Consequences

These are indeed terrible days for small nations whose nals have been devoted above all else to the struggle of centuries to win freedom and safety for their Christian peoples and to redeem Europe from the deadly blight of Turkish overlordship. Perhaps, however, it is fortunate rather than otherwise that punishment has so swiftly followed wrongdoing. It is not our function, nor is it our wish, to accuse any particular statesman or any single European country of deliberate international crime in the shaping of Europe's program of folly that has so quickly met inevitable reverses in these years following the Armistice. America's power had turned the scales in favor of the Allies, and American influence was paramount in 1917 and 1918. It was not our intention merely to promote new empires on the ruins of old ones. Under the leadership of this country it would have been possible to secure unanimous agreement upon a sound plan of readjustment in the Near East, and upon many other things that afterwards went wrong in the badly managed negotiations at Paris. Since there was no disinterested leadership that was practical enough to shape the war settlements, it was inevitable that selfish and particularistic points of view should have prevailed, and that the spirit of dicker- ing should have resulted in agreements that destroyed unity of purpose and that were bound to fail for lack of honest co-operation.

American Influence Necessary

As for the United States, we had made appalling war sacrifices on the supposition that noble results were to be secured; but we neglected to define in advance the precise nature of those commendable objects for which we were fighting, and we abdicated our authority at the very time when it was most necessary to exert it. It is not easy to know how to restore American influence

to the place that it ought to hold. Merely to acquiesce in anything that Europe thinks it wants at a given moment is not the way to restore American leadership. Thus all European leaders, in view of the financial embarrassments of their own countries, think that the United States ought to cancel the debts owed by those countries to the United States Treasury. But they are arguing solely from the standpoint of their own fiscal difficulties, and not in the least from that of America's power to use influence for the world's peace and best welfare. Ever since those debts were incurred, their obligations have been fully met—not, however, to the extent of a dollar by the European beneficiaries, but wholly by the American taxpayers. Exception is to be made of Great Britain, which will pay in full. There will come a time when Europe's monetary obligations to America will have to be adjusted, for most of them will never be paid in the terms of the original agreement. But when that adjustment comes, it ought to be made a part of a large program for world harmony, with the United States foremost in proposing the plans.

We Are Now Backing Up the British Navy American opinion is slowly but surely moving in the direction of a resumption of American responsibility. A great step was taken



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GENERAL SIR CHARLES HARINGTON, IN COMMAND OF THE BRITISH FORCES AT CHANAK ON THE ASIATIC SIDE OF THE DARDANELLES NEAR CONSTANTINOPLE

(General Harington represents the high character and wide experience that make the leading men of the British Army as well as of the British Navy so worthy of admiration and respect. His firmness last month in co-operation with the British naval forces kept the victory-flushed Turks from carrying fire and sword into Constantinople and across European territories occupied by Greeks)



SMYRNA REFUGEES AT THE AMERICAN CONSULATE, WHERE SAILORS FROM OUR DESTROYER "LITCHFIELD" GAVE AID AND PROTECTION

when we secured the agreement upon naval ratios. It is now the accepted principle, not disputed anywhere, that the United States and Great Britain are to be the foremost naval powers, with equality of naval strength. It follows inevitably that rivalry between these two countries henceforth is to be in the fields of friendly commerce, and never to involve military menace. The British and American Navies are destined to coöperate, not only "in the regions of the Pacific," but in all the seas, for peace and order. We have not been officially engaged in the recent negotiations with the Turks, but we have not hesitated to send strong naval forces to the Eastern Mediterranean. Our Navy is there to protect Americans; but incidentally its presence is in token of sympathy with certain positions that Great Britain as leader of the Allies has announced as the irreducible minimum. President Harding and Secretary Hughes have let it be known that the United States stands with England in demanding that Turkey shall never again be allowed to close the Dardanelles. Free and safe use of the deep waterways and passages of the world has become a matter of international naval concern, and the United States has an opinion to express, and back of that opinion is an emerging policy.

*Our Navy
Has a
Mission*

The United States Navy henceforth is not to be regarded primarily as an isolated force for the advancement of American interests or the defense of American rights. It is a part of the force that protects rights in general. There is nobody left in the world who has any disposition to subject the United States to the challenge of force. Legitimate American interests are not just now endangered anywhere. Might we not, then, with impunity go much farther in reducing our naval establishment than we obligated ourselves to do by the treaty fixing naval ratios that was signed at Washington early this year? Even with a reduced personnel following the abandonment of new building and the scrapping program as adopted, we are still spending several times as much upon the Navy as in any of the years that immediately preceded our entrance upon the war. With an actual budget deficit of at least \$500,000,000, might we not at once reduce our naval bill to the average yearly expenditure of the period from 1913 to 1917? The answer should be a most em-

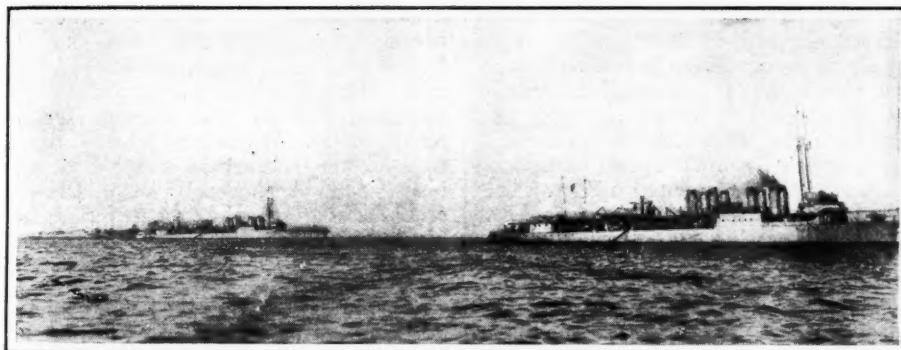
phatic negative. As matters stand in the world, we are under more obligation to keep an efficient navy well up to the maximum force that was figured out in the Hughes program than we are at present to cut the *matériel* and *personnel* of the Navy down to the limit as prescribed.

*A Policy
That Is
Permanent*

We committed ourselves in 1917 to a policy which meant that we were going to act as a super-police force to help put down a world riot. To put down that riot with intelligence and justice meant that we must be associated with the defenders as against the aggressors. But to have assumed such a responsibility, with all its burdens and risks, must have implied that we were committing ourselves to the further task of playing a leading part in the prevention of future riots. In its nature, the policy itself is permanent, not temporary. The world is so far from the desired stable equilibrium that police functions cannot be abandoned without inviting disasters beyond calculation. Among the ways by which the United States can continue to protect itself while performing its larger duty, there is none more specific or plain than the maintenance of an efficient American Navy. Again and again in the past experience of the United States, we have seen that unpreparedness invites war. There ought to come a time when our international duties, and our own safety alike, will permit the reduction of our naval bill far below the present figures. No one would care to pay high premium



ROOSEVELT DAY
From the *Bee* (Omaha, Neb.)



UNITED STATES DESTROYERS LEAVING THE NAVAL BASE AT NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA,
UNDER SAILING ORDERS TO PROCEED TO CONSTANTINOPLE

rates on insurance policies if adequate insurance could be provided at low rates.

*Navy
Day,
October 27*

It is proper to hope for a time when naval protection will be so well safeguarded by agreement of all the powers, with Anglo-American coöperation as the nucleus, that total expenses may be greatly curtailed. But that time has not yet come, and it may unhappily be long deferred. The Navy League of the United States is a voluntary organization that is doing its best to keep the American public aware of the value of our Navy from every rational standpoint. With the approval of the Navy Department, October 27 was designated, on the League's suggestion, as "Navy Day." Our readers will not have to be reminded that October 27 is the anniversary of the birthday of Theodore Roosevelt. The yearly recurrence of Roosevelt's birthday can be made influential for the best ends of patriotism, even without the closing of banks and schools and the creation of another legal holiday. That the Navy League should seek to identify their views of public policy with the name and fame of Theodore Roosevelt is wholly creditable. No American has ever lived whose convictions regarding the value of the American Navy to ourselves and to the world were clearer and stronger than those of Roosevelt. His first book, written in his youth, was on the naval side of our War of 1812. As Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he played a more energetic part than anyone else at Washington in making the Navy ready for Dewey's victory at Manila and the corresponding victory in Cuban waters that

made the war for Cuban liberation so brief and decisive.

*Roosevelt
and the
Navy*

In many ways Roosevelt's career was associated with the advancement of the United States as a naval power. If his views had prevailed, we should have strengthened our Navy enormously in the period of two or three years before we found ourselves a belligerent in the Great War. Mr. Henry Breckenridge, of the Navy League, well says that our Navy is an "agent of stability in a troubled world." And he adds that "it carries no threat, but it lends authority to America's voice, speaking for altruism, justice, and law." The concluding paragraph of a letter sent to us by Mr. Breckenridge expresses the Roosevelt point of view in sentences that we are glad to quote:

Those who proposed the celebration of Navy Day, who urge upon you what they believe to be an opportunity of patriotic service, are advocates of peace. They believe in and support the policy of reduction of armaments by agreement but reject as absurd the fatuity of disarmament by example. Living in a world of reality they would foster the instrument of their security while looking forward to the realization of the ideal not yet attained when the only security needed by mankind shall rest in the hearts and minds of men and nations.

Admiral Gleaves made a remarkable address upon the Navy to a great radio audience on September 24 from the broadcasting station at Newark. The address was subsequently printed in newspapers, and it covered the naval situation with remarkable completeness. No part of this address was more convincing than that which argued for the maintenance of the personnel of our naval force at a minimum large enough to

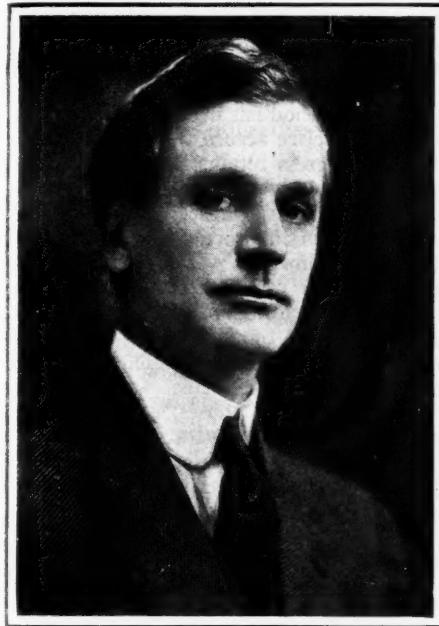
provide a nucleus of trained officers and men around which expansion could be made in case of need. There has never been a time when it has been to our advantage as a nation to be lacking in naval strength; and there have been times when our naval weakness has not only brought great harm upon us, but has also prevented our exercising wholesome influence for the maintenance of order and peace beyond our own domains. And if all this has been true in times past, it remains quite as true that the American Navy has yet a part to play in the world. Its mission has been clarified by the Washington Conference, and emphasized by more recent events showing how dangerously turbulent are world conditions.

The Army Minimum If the Navy League, Secretary Denby, and the professionals of whom Admiral Gleaves (retired) is a worthy representative are justified in their arguments for a strong Navy, it is hardly less true that the spokesmen for the Army are entitled to be heard just now when the temptation to cut down national expenditures is so hard for Congress to resist. There is an extreme minimum line for each of these forces below which there is no immediate danger that either of them will be reduced. If one must choose between the two forces, it is more important from the broader standpoint to keep the Navy well above the extreme minimum. But there are great disadvantages, and there is some practical danger, in allowing the Army to be cut below the point that Secretary Weeks and General Pershing have indicated as necessary if we are to keep alive all essential parts of a modern military structure. General Pershing says that there must be a minimum of 150,000 enlisted men and 13,000 officers in view of what we expect from the Army. With a regular establishment of this size, it is possible to train the National Guard and to keep the reserve forces suitably organized. General Pershing and General Harbord spoke frankly and sensibly about Army requirements at the annual convention of the Reserve Officers' Training Association, which was held early in October at Washington, and which represented approximately 70,000 commissioned reservists.

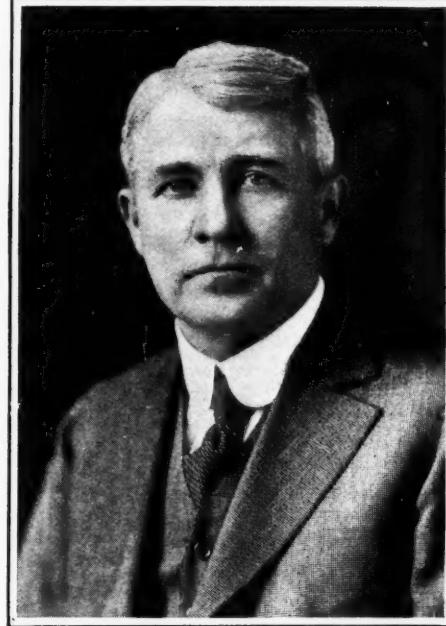
Real Dangers Ahead In spite of the forced demobilization of Germany, the armies of the world to-day are greater than they were in that decade of

avowed militarism that preceded the outbreak of 1914. The surest way for the United States and other peace-loving countries to be drawn into another conflict is to disarm completely and disavow further responsibility. We cannot possibly live a tranquil life unarmed in a world of confusion and violence. Immense Russian armies under sinister control are lurking behind the uncertainties of Moscow diplomacy. It is well known that the Turkish onset, which found the Allies so ill-united for resistance, was with the full encouragement of the Moscow dictators. Furthermore, although Germany's hand nowhere appeared, it is not to be forgotten that Germany and Russia have established close relations, and that Turkish success would seem to minister to what are doubtless the underlying hopes and aspirations of the Germany of to-day. To assert that these dangerous conditions do not in any manner concern the United States or threaten our future well-being is to show one's self incapable of learning anything by experience. There are possible combinations of military power that might within two or three decades force the United States into a defensive war. It would be folly to abandon our ability to protect ourselves in modern ways merely because we do not like to pay taxes. Everyone concedes that we must have some kind of an Army; and the question is whether we shall keep it up to the minimum strength designated by our authorities, or seriously impair it by permitting Congress to reduce it below that line. The number of men called for by the War Department is not excessive. Military and naval establishments wisely and efficiently trained and led, as is now true of our Navy and Army, are necessary to insure safety as well as to enable us to do our part in a dangerous world epoch.

Electing a New Congress On November 7 the country will decide once more between the two great parties that are rivals for political favor. In every congressional district a member is to be elected to the House of Representatives, with the exception of the four districts in Maine, where the election was held on September 11, with Republican success in each district. It is also to be noted that in a large number of Southern districts there is no campaign going on because the results had already been determined in Democratic



HON. CORDELL HULL, OF TENNESSEE
(Chairman of the Democratic National Committee)



© Moffett
HON. JOHN T. ADAMS, OF IOWA
(Chairman of the Republican National Committee)

primaries, the Republican party not being in a position to make a serious contest. One-third of the ninety-six Senate seats are to be filled by state-wide popular vote, and some of these thirty-two senatorial competitions have been attracting more than local interest. Congress adjourned on September 22, and thus the Congressmen gained for their campaign purposes at home a week in September, the entire month of October, and the first week of November. They will have barely two weeks after the election for recreation or private business, inasmuch as the President has decided to call them back to Washington in extra session on November 20. This will give Congress the benefit of a two-weeks momentum when the regular session opens on the first Monday of December. The ship subsidy bill will be pressed with vigor. The present Congress, which was elected along with President Harding in November, 1920, will expire by limitation on the fourth day of March. If the state of public business should then require further legislative action, President Harding would have to call the new Congress (elected in the present November) into extra session. If, however, the legislative docket should be fairly well cleared, the new Congress would not meet

until its first regular session opens at the beginning of December, 1923. This would give a clear period of nine months during which the flags would not be flying over the Senate and House wings of the Capitol building. It has been a good many years since a newly elected Congress has not been called into extra session earlier than the constitutional date fixed for its first regular meeting.

Estimates of the New Tariff In our last issue we commented upon the new Fordney-McCumber Tariff, and published an extensive article written from the standpoint of the framers of the bill by Mr. Edward Dingley, who has for many years been familiar as an expert and a Republican journalist with the details of tariff framing, and who also had some part in the recent work that has been done under Mr. Fordney's leadership. We are publishing in this number two important tariff articles, each of them written rather from an impartial point of view than from that of political partisanship. Dr. Friday, the distinguished economist who is now head of the Michigan Agricultural College, writes at our request upon the relation of the tariff to the cost of living. Mr. Philip G. Wright of

Washington, who is an accomplished student in fields of economic research, and who is connected with the new Institute of Economics, has prepared for our readers an article which deals in a scholarly and valuable way with various aspects of the tariff, and discusses particularly the question whether or not the new tariff has been built upon scientific lines. This inquiry is highly pertinent, because, viewed in its larger aspects, the most important thing in the Fordney-McCumber law is the plan now adopted under which the President may from time to time change particular rates or even change the basis of valuation, after due ascertainment of certain facts.

"Elastic" Provisions

The President, if he should act under this clause of the new law, would announce changes in pursuance of recommendations made by the Tariff Commission. The creation of a Tariff Commission was one of the best features of the Underwood Tariff of 1913. This body has not, hitherto, had a highly authoritative position; but it has done much valuable work, and its usefulness has been conspicuously recognized by those responsible for the new legislation. It had been the duty of the Tariff Commission to furnish information, but not to recommend rates. It was able to furnish the Fordney Committee with reliable data regarding foreign tariffs and the bearings of foreign policies upon trade. Henceforth, however, the Tariff Commission is to be a far more important agency than heretofore, because it will not only study the operation of our own tariff schedules, and the policies of foreign governments as related to American industry and commerce, but it will constantly watch all these complicated matters with the consciousness that it must be prepared to recommend specific changes if they should seem necessary. This is a radical departure, and it seems to us a long and highly desirable step in the direction of taking the tariff out of politics.

Living Under the New Tariff Law We are publishing as our frontispiece in this number a group picture of the present members of the Tariff Commission. Mr. Thomas O. Marvin has succeeded Professor Page of Virginia in the chairmanship of the Commission, Dr. Page having several years ago succeeded Professor Taussig of Harvard. It will be obvious to our readers at a mo-

ment's thought that the ultimate power of Congress over tariff policies and over particular rates is not in any manner diminished; but a more orderly and a more responsive method has been found for making tariff practice accord better with tariff policy. Congress retains its full power to legislate upon any tariff item, or to repeal the new elasticity clause. The Fordney tariff had been in process of construction and adoption for two years or more. To have the tariff question settled somehow was more important, both for domestic industry and for our importing interests, than the rates themselves. The report of the conference committee was adopted promptly by both Houses, and President Harding signed the new tariff bill on September 21. The law went into effect at midnight of the same day, and numerous cargoes that were approaching our ports from foreign countries failed to gain the advantage of arriving in time to pay the Underwood rates rather than the higher duties imposed in the Fordney schedules.

Partisan Viewpoints

The new tariff represents upon the whole the demands of the agricultural interests, while also adopting the views of American industry and labor upon foreign competition under existing conditions. It was well known that the Democrats would try to make the tariff count in their favor as a leading campaign issue. In the Democratic campaign year book, issued by the National Committee, the tariff is given the foremost place. On the score of the tariff, the tax question, foreign policy, and many other things, the Democrats attack the Harding Administration and the Republican Congress all along the line. The Republicans, in a slim brochure compiled for their campaign speakers, emphasize sound financial and economic policies and methods; show that American wage scales since the war have fallen very little as compared with European wages; defend the new tariff vigorously, and cite the principal rates of foreign tariffs; defend the work of the Washington Conference and our foreign policy in general; and make a strong appeal for continued control of Congress through the remaining half of Mr. Harding's Administration. If there is some dissatisfaction with the patient and conciliatory gentleman in the White House, and a still more prevalent opinion that the Republican Congress

has come short of reasonable expectations, it cannot be said that Democratic leadership seems to be captivating the public fancy or making masterful appeals to American opinion. There are many points where the fortunes of particular candidates have aroused local excitement; but, viewing the political season in its entirety, we should be disposed to characterize it as decidedly more apathetic than usual.

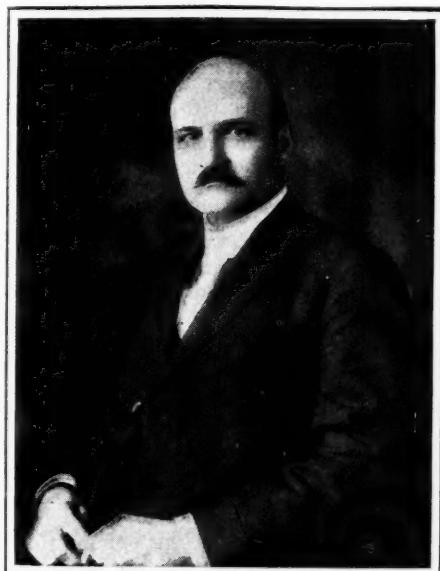
*New York
Politics* Political contests in the State of New York have always focussed national attention.

More than any other State, New York is pivotal as between parties and sections. The primary system has been modified in New York, and candidates for the more important offices are now nominated once more in State conventions. In the last week of September the Republican convention met at Albany, and the Democrats assembled at Syracuse. Governor Miller was unanimously renominated at Albany, and Senator Calder, who desired to succeed himself, met with no opposition. No Governor of New York ever succeeded in winning more sincere approval from his own party than has been accorded to the present incumbent. The balance of power in the Democratic convention was firmly held by Tammany Hall, and exercised by



DR. ROYAL S. COPELAND, HEALTH COMMISSIONER OF NEW YORK CITY

(Who was nominated by the Democratic convention at Syracuse for the United States Senate)



© Edmonston
SENATOR WILLIAM M. CALDER, OF NEW YORK
(Republican candidate for a second term)

its impulsive and silent leader, Charles F. Murphy. The candidacy of Mr. William Randolph Hearst for Governor had been pushed with aggressive energy, but had been a failure in the up-State contests that selected delegates for Syracuse. In New York City, where the Democrats of the State of New York principally reside, the issue was not for the voters to decide but was left to the "Boss." Mayor Hylan was vociferous for Mr. Hearst, while Democrats of independent proclivities were as strongly against the famous publisher.

*The
Triumvirate
in Agreement* The anti-Hearst following had resulted in securing from Ex-Governor "Al" Smith a promise to accept the nomination if offered him. The Hearst newspapers had long been bitterly opposed to Smith. So great was the antagonism that a bolt seemed inevitable. Mr. Murphy had a difficult problem to solve at Syracuse. A word from him would have nominated Hearst, with the

consequence that many leading Democrats would have openly supported the Republican ticket. On the other hand, there was menace of Hearst newspaper antagonism in case Smith were chosen. After protracted suspense, Murphy named Smith, and Mr. Hearst announced his willingness to support the ticket. On some basis, the three leaders had come to an agreement. If the Hearst press had arrayed itself against Smith, he would not have stood much chance of election, although he is popular, able, and highly esteemed. On the day of the opening of the Syracuse convention, there appeared the first issue of a daily newspaper in that city owned and published by Mr. Hearst. It was announced in Mr. Hearst's own newspapers that Syracuse is "the thirteenth city from the Atlantic to the Pacific in which Mr. Hearst owns one or more daily newspapers." Few people can comprehend the extent of the influence and power that this signifies.

The Bankers and Europe's Debts The largest annual meeting in the history of the American Bankers' Association was held in New York City in the first week of October, with nearly 10,000 members from the South and West filling up the hotels of the metropolis. The most important feature of the convention was the discussion of the proper attitude of the United States toward the European debts due us. These total about \$11,000,000,000, and it is becoming evident that the larger part cannot be paid, certainly for many years, chiefly because our debtors are so near insolvency that they cannot obtain the surplus goods or gold to satisfy our claims. An increasing number of Americans are convinced that some drastic readjustment of these debts is necessary if we are to leave Europe in a condition to trade with us; many feel that we are losing much more through disruptions of trade relations than we should lose through scaling down our war claims. At the same time, it is generally conceded, even by those who hold such opinions, that it is at present politically impossible to effect anything in the nature of even partial cancellations, with a further doubt whether the sentiment of the country can ever be changed to favor such a liberal policy. The European-debt question has been referred through Congressional action to a commission—which has, however, the most meager general powers and no power at all to remit a single

dollar of the debts or even to establish any effective moratorium.

Chancellor McKenna's Views

In this situation, it was obviously helpful for the many thousands of visiting bankers from the South and West to hear the most enlightened opinions on the foreign-debt question and to participate in the discussion. They will go back to their home towns throughout the country with new views of the matter, and their visit to New York should do no little toward guiding public opinion throughout the United States on right lines. The most elaborate, forceful, and lucid deliverance on the question came from Mr. McKenna, formerly Chancellor of the British Exchequer. He cleared the air in advance with positive assurances that England was able to pay her debt to the United States and that she would not think of any alternative. Of the other allied countries, France has the greatest resources, but in Mr. McKenna's opinion she will not be able to pay her foreign debt in full. The other debtor nations cannot possibly pay more than a small fraction of what they owe. The English financier warned us that an attempt to force payment of these debts beyond the ability of the distressed European countries would not only be disastrous to them but to the international trade of the whole world. He believes that the creditor nations will gain more from the reestablishment of overseas trade, with its benefit to factories and workshops, full employment and profits at home than they could possibly gain from the small amount of debt that could actually be collected.

The Program Suggested

Mr. McKenna's constructive proposal was that the debtor and creditor nations should get together in a full and frank conference to work out as exactly as possible the amounts that could conceivably be paid ultimately. With this determined, he advised a moratorium of some years. Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan & Co., in his speech of welcome to the bankers, pointed to the fact that about half the total sum owed to the United States by the Allies consisted of debts incurred after we had gone to war, and gave it as his opinion that this part of the European obligations should be canceled. Still another well-known New York banker, Mr. Alvin W. Kreh, urged a holiday of ten years for the con-

tinental European nations in debt to us, during which their obligations would be regarded as non-existent. As to the German reparations, Mr. McKenna's view was that Germany could not pay in the immediate future more than the total of foreign assets now held in Germany. These consist of investments of various kinds and balances in foreign banks, and he estimated the total at \$1,000,000,000. To accomplish even this, however, it would be necessary to stop the further depreciation of the mark, which might be done by easing up on the reparations payment. He advised that no further demands be made on Germany for at least three years after her foreign assets had been taken, with the hope that after the expiration of that period further reparations payments could be made up to the amount of Germany's exportable surplus.

Our First Post-War Bond Issue

In October, Secretary Mellon of the Treasury Department invited subscriptions to a public loan of \$500,000,000, the first long-term bond issue to be floated by the United States since the war. The Treasury had been confronted by huge refunding operations necessary during the coming winter and spring. In addition to many short-term loans that will mature, there are \$870,000,000 of Victory Notes falling due on December 15, and \$930,000,000 more on May 20, 1923. The total obligations that the nation will have to pay or refund before June 30, next, amount to no less than \$3,525,000,000. The country has been taxed heavily and has succeeded in not only accounting for its tremendously increased current bills, but in paying off, in the aggregate, \$1,200,000,000 of the principal of its war debt. For the present fiscal year, however, the nation faces a deficit and not much can be done toward further reducing our war debt, which now stands at \$22,800,000,000.

The New Bond Issue

This new long-term refunding bond issue was, then, the logical recourse. The bonds bear $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. interest and run for 25 to 30 years. While the amount mentioned was \$500,000,000, the Treasury may make allotments in response to over-subscriptions; and within a very few days after the lists were opened it was plain that life-insurance companies, savings-banks, and individual capitalists would ask for very much more



THE RIGHT HON. REGINALD MCKENNA

(Formerly British Chancellor of the Exchequer, and now head of the largest British bank, who visited New York last month)

than the stated half-billion, the indications being that the aggregate of subscriptions would exceed \$1,500,000,000. The Treasury agreed to make full allotments in the case of all subscriptions of \$10,000 or less. Holders of Victory Notes could use them in paying for the new bonds. They are exempt from all taxation up to the amount of \$5000, except estate and inheritance taxes, and are entirely exempt from all State and local taxes and from the federal normal income tax.

Railroads Busy but Not Profitable

For the first time since November of 1920, the railroads have no surplus and idle freight cars. The return of the coal miners to work and the rush to get fuel to consumers came in September, just at the time when the autumn crop movement normally begins to make heavy demand on railway equipment. With this unusual movement of coal, which should have been gotten out of the way during the summer, the roads are finding themselves short of cars and locomotives, in spite of the relatively large orders for new equipment which have been given during the last eight months. The word "relative" is used because, even with the much talked-of equipment orders of 1922, the finances of the railways have not

permitted them to add anything like so much to their equipment as was customary in earlier and more prosperous years. For instance, through the first seven years of this century, 200,000 freight cars was the average annual order. During the next seven years, the average was about 140,000, while between 1914 and 1921 it had fallen to 114,000 cars, getting as low as 65,000 in 1919 and 1921.

The Railways' Cost of Living These prosaic figures become very eloquent of the plight of our transportation plant when it is considered that there is more work for it to do now than in the earlier years, and that there can be no real prosperity unless this carrying work is done promptly and efficiently. The whole secret of the matter is that the railroads do not feel financially able to buy the full number of cars and locomotives that are needed. The outlook is not particularly bright. An earnest attempt was made by Congress in the Esch-Cummins act to arrange matters so that the roads would be able to earn enough money to establish fair credit and obtain the capital necessary for plant investments. The course of their earnings since the rate reductions on July 1 does not seem to promise that the object of the Esch-Cummins act has been achieved. The current reports of net earnings do not impress investors. It is true that the vertical drop in September was largely due to the strikes of the shopmen and the coal miners; but factors more fundamental and continuing than these are interfering with the revival of the railroads as sound and profitable properties.

The Labor Question As a matter of fact, the economic tendencies that brought the railroads to the verge of

insolvency a few years ago are again at work. With rates stationary or reduced, the cost of producing transportation is once more increasing, due to the higher prices the railroads pay for what they consume. Of these, labor, fuel and steel are most important. The average of the eight leading steel products is now \$53.55 per ton, against an average of \$42.12 last February. The demand is heavier and the cost of production is greater owing to the recent 20 per cent. increase in the wages of steel workers. It may be that coal can be produced in future years at less than the present cost, but

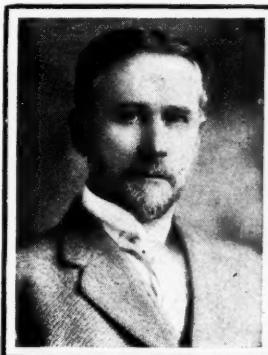
indications do not point to such a helpful change. Already there is discussion of another coal strike next April.

The Supply of Labor Failing

The chief reason why the steel makers were forced suddenly to raise wages 20 per cent. a few weeks ago was that it was necessary to bid more to get workers to man their plants. Almost before we ceased talking about the alarming unemployment, there developed, at first in spots here and there, and then generally throughout the country, a full measure of employment and in certain localities an acute shortage of labor. To this fact, more than to any new strength in unionization, are due the repeated victories of labor organizations during the past few months in the struggles over wages. The coal miners won, as did the textile workers, and the only important reversal the unions met in their effort to hold onto wartime wages or further increase them, was in the case of the railroad shopmen. This could not have been accomplished but for the general shortage of labor, and Americans are gradually coming to appreciate the effect that the new immigration law is having in cutting down the available supply of workers, especially of unskilled laborers.

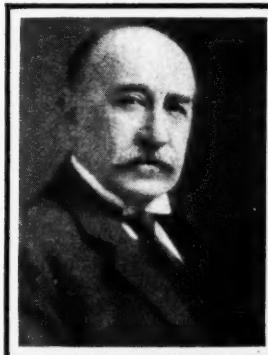
The Effect of the Immigration Law

For years we have depended for our common labor on immigrants, at first the Irish and in later years Lithuanians, Poles, Italians, Slovaks, and other people from the South of Europe. But under the present immigration restrictions, as the National Industrial Conference Board has pointed out, the gain in population through immigration is only about one-tenth of the pre-war rate. We were accustomed to show a net gain, due to foreign influx of 700,000 to 800,000 annually; now it is about 75,000, and half of these are women and children. Mr. George E. Roberts, analyzing the immigration statistics in the National City Bank bulletin, finds that in the first year of the new law, there were admitted only 32,724 immigrants classified as laborers, while there were actually 100,058 emigrants so classified, showing that we lost in that year 67,334 more workers than we gained. He calls attention to the fact that these emigrant laborers are the very people on whom we have been depending in the steel, mining and similar industries. Another writer, Mr. Frederic C. Howe, who is well known as



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Charles P. Neill



John Hays Hammond

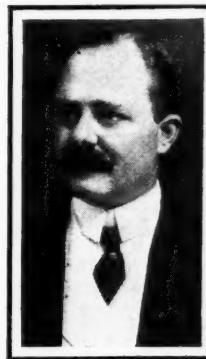


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George Otis Smith



Dr. Edward T. Devine

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Hon. Thomas R. Marshall

Clark Howell



Judge Samuel Alschuler

a student in this field, predicts that when the present generation of workers in steel mills, mines, on the railroads, on the farms and in domestic service, will have grown old, with no fresh influx of new recruits from Europe, "there will certainly be a loss of 3,000,000 workers and possibly many millions more." As this prospect becomes more apparent to Americans and their lawmakers, there will need be some hard thinking over the current immigration policy.

The Coal Commission is Appointed President Harding announced on October 10 the membership of the Coal Commission to investigate the industry and make recommendations to Congress for new legislation. It will be remembered that one of the provisions of the settlement of the recent strike was the appointment of such an investigating body. There are seven members, with George Otis Smith, Director of the Geological Survey and a careful student of the problems of the coal industry, possi-

bly acting as chairman. Other members are Mr. John Hays Hammond, the noted engineer; Mr. Thomas R. Marshall, former Vice-President of the United States; Judge Samuel Alschuler of Chicago, who has a record as an arbitrator in labor disputes, and Mr. Charles P. Neill, former Commissioner of Labor; two publicists round out the commission, Mr. Clark Howell, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution*, and Dr. Edward T. Devine of New York. It is understood that the commission will re-form in subcommittees, studying the anthracite and bituminous industries separately. An important specific subject for study by the commission is the question of the nationalization of the coal industry, Senator Borah having included this in the legislation outlining the scope of the commission's activities, not because he is a believer in nationalization, but because the subject is so frequently brought into public discussion. The commission is required to report its findings to Congress as speedily as possible.



THE COMMITTEE WHICH VISITED PRESIDENT HARDING LAST MONTH AND SECURED THE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION UNDER MR. WILL HAYS' CHAIRMANSHIP FOR EXTENSION OF AMERICAN RELIEF TO SUFFERERS IN THE NEAR EAST

(From left to right are, Dr. James L. Barton, chairman of Near East Relief; Mr. John Barton Payne, chairman of the Red Cross; Hon. Will H. Hays, Mr. R. J. Cuddihy, Mr. Eliot Wadsworth, and Mr. Charles Vickrey)

The Radio Combination Early in October there was completed a merger of the radio businesses which will go far toward making New York City the chief radio station in the world. The movement puts under one management various American, British, German, French and Argentine plants, capitalized at something like \$170,000,000. Of the many high-powered wireless stations thus brought under one operating directory, not the least important is the nearly completed Argentine installation near Buenos Ayres, which will cost \$16,000,000, and be the most powerful radio plant in the world. It covers 1400 acres and has ten towers 800 feet high. It furnishes the first direct radio communication between North and South America. This great plant has a radius of 10,000 miles and can reach vessels and stations anywhere on earth. It is expected that this new vehicle of communication between the United States and the South American countries will be an important help to trade relations. The men interested in the new combination say that it will greatly cheapen cable communication between North and South America; in fact, they promise that they will handle business at 28 cents a word as against the current cable rate of 53 cents a word. Few people realize what a large part radio already plays in commercial transactions. It is said that the radio companies are now handling practically one-fourth of all the transatlantic telegraph business. The plaything of inventors and amateurs has become vital.

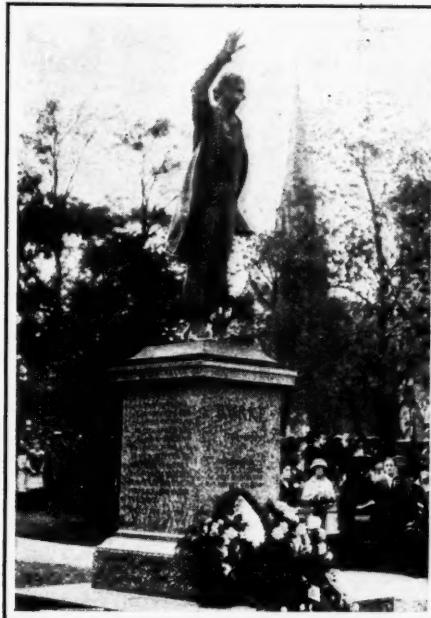
Continuing Chapters of History When our readers have duly considered the keen and masterly analysis that Mr. Simonds presents in this number, and when they have read the well-informed and critical narrative presented by Mr. William T. Ellis, they will realize that the Near Eastern question will be making further chapters of history for a long time to come. Mr. Simonds shows plainly enough the reasons why the United States could not possibly intervene at this time, in the military sense, however strong might be our sympathies. It is something that our relief agencies have been given a quasi-official character by the action of the President in naming a special committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Will H. Hays, with the Red Cross, the Near East Relief, and other agencies combining their resources. An armistice was signed last month, and agreements were made for the evacuation of Thrace by the Greeks. European prestige, not merely in Asia Minor, but throughout the continents of Asia and Africa, has been profoundly shaken by recent events. No one can foresee the changes that the next few years may bring about.

British Politics In England, the political agitation following the events in the Near East seemed likely last month to bring about ministerial changes, with an early appeal to the country. Harmony in Coalition circles was seriously impaired. It was thought possible that Liberals and Laborites might join

forces to overthrow the existing Coalition, which is dominated by the Tories. In view of the remarkable ability of Mr. Lloyd George to accommodate himself to circumstances, there were those who predicted that in a general election the Prime Minister might abandon his present Conservative allies and take his old place with the radicals. In that case, it might happen that a new Parliament with Labor-Liberal majorities would keep him at the helm.

Anglo-American Friendliness If the gradual reconstruction of the British Empire should weaken the political and military hold of Great Britain over Asiatic populations, it is by no means necessary to suppose that this would endanger the position of Great Britain. On the contrary, it might have the effect of strengthening the relations between the British Isles and the self-governing dominions of Canada, Australia, and South Africa. It might also have a tendency to cement more firmly the good understanding that exists between Great Britain and the United States. Unless ordinary common sense should lose its hold, Canada and the United States will live together in ever-increasing harmony and good-will. The approaching settlement of the Irish question will give all English-speaking people a welcome opportunity to help promote the development and prosperity of Ireland. There is an occasional fool, here and there, whose mischievous words are too much displayed in the press. But, in spite of such enemies of concord, there are hopeful signs of increasing good-will as between the British and American people. Last month, under the auspices of the Sulgrave Institution, a party of English visitors, headed by Sir Charles Wakefield, a former Lord Mayor of London, made an extensive tour in the United States and presented to this country busts of the elder Pitt, Edmund Burke, and James Bryce. There was an unstinted friendliness about the whole affair that made it peculiarly timely and welcome.

Ships and Prohibition On October 6, Attorney-General Daugherty, in response to a request from Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, gave a legal opinion upon the application of our prohibitory laws to American ships at sea, and to all ships under whatsoever flag within the three-mile limit. For certain purposes,



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THE NEW STATUE OF EDMUND BURKE AT WASHINGTON

(The gift of Sir Charles Wakefield, of London, who was present with British and American members of the Sulgrave Institution at the unveiling on October 12)

the Attorney-General declares, American ships at sea are national territory subject to the laws. And he cites various court opinions to sustain the theory that our ships, no matter where they may be, are just as truly subject to the prohibitory laws as if they were permanently tied up at their docks in our seaports. This is quite contrary to the position that had been taken by Mr. Lasker of the Shipping Board. The ruling also applies in the most drastic way to foreign ships when they come within American jurisdiction; that is to say, within the three-mile limit that international law and custom have established. Secretary Hughes last June proposed to Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador, that an agreement should be reached that would permit the searching of vessels in a zone twelve miles wide, the practical object being to break up the smuggling of liquors. On October 16 the Ambassador handed to Secretary Hughes a note from the British Government refusing to adopt the American proposals. Smuggling from the British West Indies has apparently been carried on with the connivance of local authorities.



A VIEW OF CONSTANTINOPLE, FOR THE COMPLETE CONTROL OF WHICH THE TURKISH NATIONALISTS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING BOTH IN THE FIELD AND AROUND THE COUNCIL TABLE

(The Galata bridge, across the Golden Horn, connects Galata, the business section of the city, with Stamboul, the religious and administrative center)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From September 15 to October 15, 1922)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

September 19.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the Fordney-McCumber Tariff bill, by vote of 43 to 28, following its adoption by the House on September 15 (President Harding signs the bill on September 21, and the new tariff law takes effect immediately).

September 20.—The Senate receives a recommendation from the President that \$200,000 be appropriated for relief of American refugees in the Near East.

The House passes the Soldier Bonus bill over presidential veto by vote of 258 to 54, fifty more than the necessary two-thirds majority; the original vote which sent the bill to the Senate, March 23, was 333 to 71.

In the Senate, the Bonus bill is defeated by vote of 44 to 28, the necessary two-thirds vote failing by four; 27 Republicans and 17 Democrats vote in favor; 21 Republicans and 7 Democrats vote against; 21 are paired (there being seven pairs of 2 for and 1 against, under the requirement of a two-thirds vote); 3 members are absent and not paired.

September 21.—The Senate passes the Deficiency Appropriation bill, adding \$485,000 to the House bill and making a total of \$2,831,742; \$180,000 is set aside for the mixed German and American commission which will settle war claims, and \$200,000 is appropriated for relief of American refugees at Smyrna.

In the House, Majority Leader Mondell recites

the accomplishments of the Sixty-seventh Congress, emphasizing reduction in expenditure: fiscal year 1920, \$6,560,467,535.13; 1921, \$5,538,209,189.30; 1922, \$3,795,302,499.84.

September 22.—The second session of the Sixty-seventh Congress adjourns *sine die*.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 16.—The Women's Party legal research department reports discriminations in New York State laws against women; it is the most complete survey yet made.

September 19.—President Harding vetoes the Soldiers' Bonus bill, on the ground that distributing "adjusted compensation" would establish a dangerous precedent.

September 21.—President Harding signs the Fordney-McCumber Tariff bill, and it takes effect at midnight; the annual revenue from this new tariff is estimated by the Treasury at about \$400,000,000, or \$100,000,000 more than the Underwood Tariff produced.

The President signs the Grain Futures act, under which the Secretary of Agriculture will supervise trading in futures in the Chicago Board of Trade and other exchanges; the law becomes effective November 1.

Connecticut Democrats, in convention, nominate Thomas J. Spelacy for Senator and David E. Fitzgerald for Governor.

September 22.—Conrad E. Spens is appointed Federal Fuel Distributor under the new laws for investigation and control of the coal industry.

September 26.—In New Jersey primaries Senator Joseph S. Frelinghuysen (Rep.) is renominated, defeating George L. Record by nearly 92,000 votes in a total of 265,000; the Democratic nominee for Senator is Governor Edward I. Edwards.

September 28.—New York Republicans, in convention, unanimously renominate Governor Nathan L. Miller and Senator William M. Calder.

September 29.—The Democratic State convention in New York nominates for Governor Alfred E. Smith, William R. Hearst having withdrawn; Dr. Royal S. Copeland, New York City Health Commissioner, is nominated for Senator.

October 2.—Ex-Senator George Sutherland is sworn in as an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, which convenes for the October term.

October 3.—In the Arkansas State election, Governor T. C. McRae and the entire Democratic State ticket are swept to victory.

Mrs. W. H. Felton of Cartersville, Georgia, is appointed United States Senator to succeed Thomas E. Watson, deceased, and to hold office until her successor is elected in November; she is the first woman to hold the honor of United States Senator.

Rhode Island Democrats, in convention, nominate William S. Flynn of Providence for Governor and renominate Senator Peter G. Gerry.

October 6.—Under an opinion by Attorney-General Daugherty, President Harding orders all American ships to cease purveying liquor to passengers and forbids transportation of liquors by foreign ships within the three-mile limit.

October 8.—President Harding appoints Mr. Will Hays (his former Postmaster-General) to organize a special relief fund for Near East refugees; the work will be carried forward by the Near East Relief and the American Red Cross.

October 9.—The Red Cross executive committee empowers chairman John Barton Payne to use the organization's \$20,000,000 treasury fund in his discretion for Near East relief work.

Veterans' Hospital No. 81 at New York City receives a clean bill of health from a committee appointed by Director Charles R. Forbes to investigate it after criticism by the local Congressman, the American Legion, and others.

October 10.—The fact-finding Coal Commission is appointed; it consists of John Hays Hammond, Thomas Riley Marshall, Judge Samuel Alschuler, Clark Howell, George Otis Smith, Dr. Edward T. Devine, and Charles P. Neill.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 18.—The ex-Kaiser, Wilhelm II, announces betrothal to Princess Hermoine von Schoenai-Carolath, born Princess von Reuss (the former Empress died less than a year ago).

The Irish Parliament (Dail Eireann) permits introduction of a bill enacting a Constitution for the Irish Free State.

September 21.—The Dublin Parliament passes the new Constitution bill through second reading, by vote of 47 to 16.

September 24.—German Independent Socialists and Majority Socialists, after six years of bitter political differences, unite to form the German

Social Democracy; Carl Kautsky will draft a new party program; ex-Chancellor Miller, and Herren Crispian and Weis head the new organization.

September 27.—King Constantine of Greece abdicates in favor of his son George, who is sworn in as George II; the ministry resigns and the army is in revolt because of the Smyrna defeat.

In Dublin, the Cabinet sets up military courts to try persons interfering with the maintenance of order in the Irish Free State.

October 3.—It is announced that general elections will be held in Greece on November 13 for a new Parliament; ex-king Constantine arrives at Palermo, Italy.

At Dublin, President Cosgrave proclaims amnesty to all rebels who surrender their arms before October

15; the Parliament adopts the oath of allegiance agreed upon with the British Government.

October 4.—The Dublin Parliament approves the first substantial amendment to the proposed Constitution in adopting Articles 26 to 42 inclusive; the universities trade four seats in the Senate for eight in the House under the amendment; there will be one member for every 20,000 to 30,000 persons, with a roll of 132 members in the House on four-year terms; any person aged 21 may vote for or become a member.

October 6.—In Santo Domingo, President-elect Juan Bautista Vicini Burgos announces his Cabinet, in which José Ariza

will be Minister of Interior, and Angel Morales Foreign Minister.

October 14.—Premier Lloyd George, at Manchester, faced by defection of the Conservatives and confronted with a political crisis that threatens to force a general election, defends his Government's handling of the Near East crisis and throws himself on the people.

In Mexico, Alberto Salinas, a rebel, is sentenced to six years' imprisonment; Candido Aguilar is defeated at Nuevo Leon.

THE NEAR EAST CRISIS

September 14.—A large section of Smyrna, including the Armenian quarter, is destroyed by fire; 240,000 Christians are unable to leave the city, due to lack of shipping; the situation is being met by American and Allied relief agencies.

September 16.—Great Britain lands military forces at the Dardanelles, which the Government announces England will fight to keep "free"; an immediate peace conference is proposed.

Mustapha Kemal demands withdrawal of Greek troops from the Tchatalja section of European



MRS. REBECCA LATIMER FELTON, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM GEORGIA

(Who was appointed as interim Senator succeeding Thomas E. Watson, deceased; Mrs. Felton is eighty-seven years old, a pioneer suffragist of her State, and the widow of former Congressman William H. Felton)



DR. MARION EDWARDS PARK

(Who last month became president of Bryn Mawr. Dr. Park was formerly dean of Radcliffe College, and she now succeeds Miss M. Carey Thomas, who had been president of Bryn Mawr for twenty-eight years)

Turkey (Thrace) and return of Eastern Thrace to Turkey.

September 18.—The British Atlantic fleet is sent to aid the Mediterranean squadron at the Dardanelles; Lord Curzon goes to Paris to confer with representatives of the French Government.

September 19.—Mustapha Kemal Pasha informs Paris he will not attack the neutral zone of the Straits if Turkey regains Adrianople, Constantinople, and Eastern Thrace to the River Maritza; he prefers that the Allied Commission for neutrality should sit at Gallipoli instead of Constantinople.

The French Cabinet endorses Premier Poincaré's policy of Near East solution by diplomacy rather than by armed force.

September 20.—French and Italian diplomats favor Kemal's stand regarding Thrace; Curzon of England dissents.

September 21.—Great Britain refuses to withdraw her troops from Chanak, on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles; French and Italian troops withdraw from the neutral zone.

September 23.—England, France, and Italy send a joint note to the Turkish Nationalist Government at Angora, offering to restore Constantinople to Turkey, with Thrace to the Maritza River, providing the neutral zone is not violated; an immediate military conference at Mudania is proposed; Greek troops are to evacuate all Turkish territory; Turkey is promised membership in the League of Nations and invited to a peace conference at Venice with Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Rumania, Jugoslavia, and Greece.

September 25.—Turkish cavalry invests the entire Turkish side of the Dardanelles, surrounding Chanak (occupied by the British); the Greek cabinet requests former Premier Venizelos to try to retain Eastern Thrace.

September 26.—The United States Government announces its approval of the Allied stand for freedom of the Dardanelles and the protection of religious and racial minorities. . . . General Sir Charles Harington orders the Turks out of the neutral zones around the Dardanelles.

September 27.—The United States sends twelve destroyers and a supply ship to the Mediterranean to aid Admiral Bristol in relief and other work near Smyrna.

September 29.—Mustapha Kemal replies for the Turkish Nationalists to General Harington's demand for withdrawal from the neutral zone; he says it was established without consultation with the Turkish Government, arbitrarily by the British, whom he advises to get out of the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles after the example of France and Italy; he offers to withdraw his forces slightly upon British compliance with his request.

October 1.—Kemal accepts the Allied offer of a peace parley; he requests, however, the evacuation of Thrace within eight days by the Greeks and occupation by Turks to the Maritza River; he wants Allied troops on the West bank of the river.

October 2.—The Turkish-Allied conference at Mudania opens with the following delegates attending: Hamid Bey (Turkey), General Mombelli (Italy), General Charpy (France), General Harington (British), and General Mazarakis of Greece.

October 3.—At Mudania the Allies agree to turn over Eastern Thrace to Turkey within thirty days.

October 5.—The Mudania armistice conference adjourns for a few days in deadlock over demands by the Turkish Nationalists for immediate evacuation of Thrace by the Greeks; Ismet Pasha suddenly raises the question of evacuation of Constantinople, which General Harington tells him will have to wait until after the peace conference at Venice.

October 6.—The Turks present an ultimatum for immediate evacuation of Thrace.

October 7.—Great Britain agrees with France that Greece shall evacuate Thrace, which will be policed by Allied troops for thirty days to protect minorities, when it will be turned over to the Turks.

October 10.—The Mudania armistice is signed by Ismet Pasha for Turkey; it settles the sovereignty of Thrace as Turkish, to take effect within thirty days; new neutral zones in the areas of Chanak and Ismid are to be delimited by mixed military commissions, with temporary zones of Allied occupation definitely laid out and agreed to be kept free from interference by the Turks.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

September 18.—Hungary is elected a member of the League of Nations by the Assembly at Geneva.

September 20.—Bolivia and Chile fail to agree on terms for revision of the treaty of 1904, Chile refusing to negotiate regarding a Pacific port for Bolivia, but agreeing to discuss proposals for solidifying American peace; mediation of a friendly power may be requested.

September 23.—The League of Nations Assembly

defers action on proposed modification of Article X of the Covenant until the Fourth Assembly convenes in 1923. (This is the article that binds League members to defend one another from external aggression.)

September 25.—The conference at Chang-chau, Manchuria, between Japanese and the Chita government of Siberia, ends in deadlock; the Japanese refuse to withdraw from the northern half of the Island of Sakhalin until indemnified for the killing of 600 Japanese at Nikolaevsk in 1920.

September 27.—Secretary of State Hughes completes a plan for payment of the costs of the Rhine army of occupation from imports of German dyes, which are to be delivered without cash payments and credited on the occupation army account of the United States.

September 28.—The Spanish Foreign Minister, Señor Prida, officially announces that the bandit Raisuli of Morocco has been captured.

September 29.—Japanese withdrawal, civil and military, from the Siberian mainland opposite the Island of Sakhalin is completed.

September 30.—Geneva witnesses the adjournment of the League of Nations Third Assembly; no final action is taken to establish Austrian credits; six non-permanent members are elected to the Council—Brazil, Spain, Uruguay, Belgium, Sweden, and China.

October 3.—The Austrian credit relief plan is signed by Dr. Ignaz Seipel, the Austrian Chancellor, and Allied representatives at Geneva; the principal guarantors are Britain, France, Italy, and Czechoslovakia; it is agreed to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of Austria.

October 5.—Louis Barthou, of France, is appointed to the Commission on Reparation from the post of Minister of Justice by Premier Poincaré; M. Barthou will succeed Louis Dubois.

October 10.—Japan announces that she will restore Kiao-chou to China on December 2; it has been out of Chinese control since 1898, when it was seized by Germany.

M. Louis Barthou, of France, is elected Chairman of the Reparation Commission.

October 11.—Great Britain concludes a treaty of alliance with Irak (Arabia) under which King Feisal's Government agrees to follow for twenty years British advice on matters of foreign and financial policy.

October 13.—France refuses to accept the British plan to relieve Germany for five years of all cash reparation payments, with immediate control of German Government finances by the Allies.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

September 16.—Ford factories close in Detroit and other cities, due to the coal situation; 73,000 men are idle; two water-power plants remain open.

September 18.—After digging frantically for three weeks for miners cut off by fire in the Argonaut gold mine at Jackson, Cal., rescuers find forty-seven dead bodies on the 4,350 foot level; they were reached by boring from an adjoining mine.

September 21.—Walter Fay, known as a German spy, convicted of ship bomb plots and imprisoned at Atlanta, Georgia, is deported to Hamburg, with Carl Koener.

Astronomers in eight expeditions to the Indian



© Harris & Ewing

DR. SAMUEL WESLEY STRATTON

(The new executive head of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Dr. Stratton was born in Illinois in 1861. After graduation from the State University he taught physics there and at the University of Chicago until he became Director of the Bureau of Standards at Washington in 1901. He will take up his new work in January)

Ocean and Australia photograph a solar eclipse to verify the Einstein theory; the phenomenon occurs fifteen seconds later and lasts four seconds less than had been predicted.

Bishop Thomas F. Gailor, of Tennessee, is re-elected President of the Episcopal National Council at Portland, Oregon.

September 23.—The injunction against the railroad shopmen's strike, procured by the Government through Attorney-General Daugherty, is sustained by Judge Wilkerson at Chicago.

During army war games at Mineola, N. Y., a bombing plane "crashes" and six men are killed.

September 24.—Georges Carpentier, European heavyweight boxing champion, is knocked out by Battling Siki, a Senegalese, in the sixth round.

September 28.—Large Eastern railroads put a ten-day embargo on all freight, except food, fuel, and other necessities.

September 30.—The Geological Survey estimates total coal production for the week ended to-day as 11,600,000 tons; being 1,800,000 tons of anthracite and over 9,600,000 tons of bituminous.

October 1.—The American Bankers' Association holds its forty-eighth annual convention at New York City.

October 3.—At New York City, the pneumatic tube mail service is resumed; it was shut off January 1, 1917, under the advice of former Postmaster-General Burleson, and restored under the petitions of merchants and business men.

October 5.—In the Province of Ontario, Canada, forest fires destroy \$8,000,000 worth of property, including the homes of 6,000 persons, about fifty of whom are killed or missing.

October 6.—Lieutenants John A. Macready and Oakley Kelley, U. S. A., break all endurance records for non-stop airplane flight by flying 35 hours, 18 minutes, 30 seconds, breaking the world's record by 9 hours.

October 8.—The New York Giants defeat the New York Yankees for the world's championship in baseball; the Giants win four games, Yankees none, and one game is a tie.

The Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York City accepts the reorganization plan of the Transit Commission established by Governor Miller over a year ago.

Two British steamship lines sue to enjoin the United States Government from enforcing a ruling prohibiting liquors on all vessels within the three-mile limit; the case is postponed upon a plea by American steamship lines that they would be put at a disadvantage if an injunction were to issue only to foreign vessels; American ships begin to leave port without intoxicants aboard.

OBITUARY

September 18.—Right Rev. Cortland Whitehead, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Pittsburgh since 1882, 79. . . . Dr. Horatio Robinson Storer, international authority on obstetrics, surgical inventor, author, 92.



THE NEW KING AND QUEEN OF GREECE—
GEORGE II AND ELIZABETH

(The former Crown Prince succeeded his father, King Constantine, who abdicated on September 27 as a result of the Turkish victory)

September 19.—Rev. Dr. Jesse C. Bruce, Presbyterian Church Erection Board official, 75. . . . Daniel Colwell, Supreme Secretary, Knights of Columbus, 73.

September 21.—Enos Mills, author and naturalist, of Long's Peak, Colorado, 52.

September 22.—Charles Santley, widely known English baritone, 88. . . . Lester Williams Clark, former New York Supreme Court Justice, 68.

September 24.—Elon R. Brown, Republican State political leader of Watertown, New York, 65.

September 25.—Edward Clark Marsh, noted as literary adviser to New York publishers, 47. . . . Burns Durbin Caldwell, president of Wells-Fargo & Co., 64.

September 26.—Thomas E. Watson, United States Senator from Georgia, Democrat, 66. . . . William T. Carleton, a former operatic singer, 73.

September 27.—Rev. Dr. William Austin Smith, editor of the *Churchman*, 50.

September 28.—Rush Taggart, general counsel of the Western Union Telegraph Company, 73. . . . Rev. J. H. McNeilly, of Nashville, Tenn., Presbyterian, 84.

September 29.—Prof. Addison Van Name, Yale University librarian, 87. . . . William H. McElfatrick, theater architect, 68.

September 30.—Rev. Josiah A. Seitz, Universalist editor and author, 85.

October 2.—Dr. Lucius Fayette Clark Garvin, ex-Governor of Rhode Island, 81. . . . Thomas M. Hilliard, former managing director of the Vanderbilt Hotel, New York, 57. . . . The Rev. Dr. Byron Stauffer, Methodist preacher and author, 51.

October 3.—Dr. Maximilian Paul Eugen Grosmann, educator who believed in special schools for bright children, 67.

October 5.—Dr. Joseph E. Winters, Boston pediatrician, 74. . . . Dr. John S. White, educator, 75.

October 6.—William Ellsworth Smythe, advocate of land colonization, and author, 61. . . . Marie Lloyd, widely known London music hall actress.

October 8.—Gen. Benjamin F. Bridges, former warden of Charlestown (Mass.) State prison, 87. . . . Hon. John A. Stewart, former Canadian Minister of Railways. . . . Jorge Montt, former President of Chile.

October 9.—Prof. Frederick Anderegg, for thirty years head of the department of mathematics, Oberlin College, 70.

October 10.—Isaac Guggenheim, a leader in the mining and smelting industries, 68.

October 11.—Dr. H. J. Minthorn, Oregon educator and missionary to the Indians. . . . Frank Sherman Washburn, engineer who designed and built the Muscle Shoals (Ala.) power plant, 62. . . . Lillian Dix, actress, 58.

October 12.—Edwin S. Marston, banker, 71. . . . Edouard Clunet, French international lawyer.

October 15.—John Forrest Kelly, well-known electrical engineer and inventor, 63.

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



THE AWKWARD SQUAD LINES UP FOR THE FALL ELECTIONS

From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Ia.)



MR. CONGRESSMAN FACES THE TOUGHEST PROBLEM OF ALL

From the *Press* (Cleveland)



WILL THEY LIKE THE PRESENTS HE BROUGHT HOME?

From the *Evening World* © (New York)



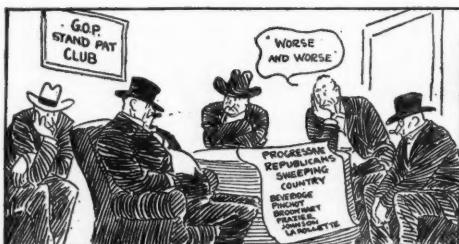
WAS THE WORK OF THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS SATISFACTORY? THE VOTERS WILL DECIDE

From the *Evening Star* (Washington, D. C.)



THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE AND THE HIGH TARIFF TACKS

From the *World-Herald* (Omaha, Neb.)



HOW REPUBLICAN POLITICIANS RECEIVED THE NEWS THAT MR. COX WANTS TO MAKE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AN ISSUE IN 1924

From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



NO, THANKS AGAIN! AND NOT NOW
ESPECIALLY!

From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)



ON HIS OWN SIDE TO STAY

From the *American* © (New York)



HIS CHANCE TO MAKE GOOD

From the *Post* (Cincinnati, Ohio)

UNDESIRABLES IN THE EUROPEAN BANQUET HALL

From the *Tribune* © (New York)

THE League of Nations failed to function in the brief hostilities between Turkey and Greece, and also in the peace

conference proposals which followed; so the critics of the League have had full opportunity to disparage and condemn.

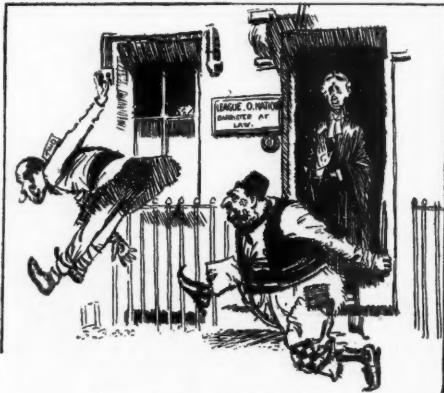


THE TURK AT THE DOOR OF THE BALKAN POWDER HOUSE

From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

IF UNCLE SAM HAD ACCEPTED THE ARMENIAN MANDATE

From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



SETTLED OUT OF COURT

THE BRIEFLESS LEAGUE OF NATIONS BARRISTER: "It's a shame the way these people settle their own disputes. I could have made a lovely case out of this."

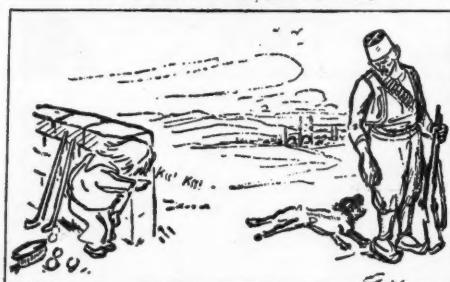
From the *Western Mail*, (Cardiff, Wales)



WAR AGAINST WAR

(The Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Robert Cecil, the League of Nations Crusaders, proceeding on their pilgrimage)

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)



LLOYD GEORGE AND HIS DOG CONSTANTINE IN TURKEY—A STORY WITHOUT WORDS

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



AND THEY TOLD US THE WAR GOD WAS GONE FOR GOOD!

From the *Mercury and News* (Birmingham, England)



FINANCIAL DISASTER

UNCLE SAM'S NEW USE FOR THE "WIRELESS"

"Guess Cousin John's got his hands full."

From *News of the World* (London, England)



RETURN OF THE PRODIGAL

UNCLE SAM: "I guess I had better find my way in here before it is too late."

From the *South Wales News* (Cardiff, Wales)

[As a text for this cartoon, the Welsh newspaper printed excerpts from an address made by Mr. Cox, Democratic candidate for President in 1920, which was interpreted to mean that Americans are now prepared to reconsider their position of isolation from the affairs of Europe.]



THE HUNT FOR THE DOLLAR

From *Wahre Jakob* (Stuttgart, Germany)

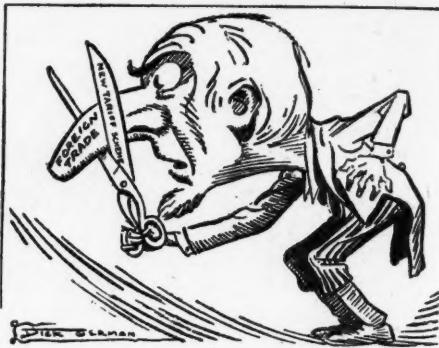
[Lloyd George is a passenger in Uncle Sam's car, on the road to world dominion, but Poincaré and the other Premiers of Europe are shown as begging for a loan]



[WALLED OUT]

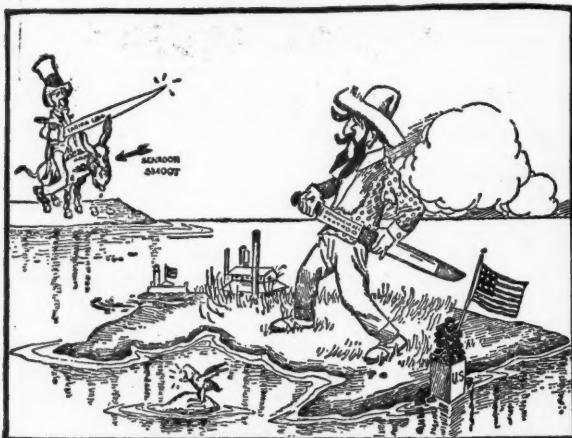
JOHN BULL: "I say, Sam, there seems to be no opening for our European goods. You don't seem to want to help us pay what we owe."

From the *Evening Express* (Cardiff, Wales)



A QUESTIONABLE EXPEDIENT

From the *South Wales News* (Cardiff, Wales)



CUBA THREATENS TO END THE RECIPROCITY TREATY AND BOYCOTT AMERICAN GOODS

(The new American tariff raises the duty on Cuban sugar from four-fifths of a cent a pound to 1.84 cents)

From *Politica Comica* (Havana, Cuba)

It may be interesting to note some foreign cartoon comment on our new tariff. The two Welsh papers whose cartoons are reproduced above agree in their belief that Uncle Sam is doing himself harm; and the Havana journal, in the drawing at the left, pictures the Cuban Uncle Sam as thoroughly aroused over the high duty on sugar. The sword which he is unsheathing is labeled "denunciation of the treaty."



Mr. Lloyd George preparing his Geneva speech on disarmament

Mr. Lloyd George taking energetic action in support of Greece

Mr. Lloyd George shouting for his money from Germany

Mr. Lloyd George politely inquiring about the little bill due from France

SUGGESTED ILLUSTRATIONS FOR LLOYD GEORGE'S FORTHCOMING MEMOIRS

From *Levres* (Paris, France)



BRIAND, FORMER PREMIER OF FRANCE, LOOKS UPON THE MESS THAT HIS SUCCESSOR, POINCARÉ SEEMS TO HAVE MADE—From *l'Uvre* (Paris, France)



RAYMOND: "SHA'N'T! SHA'N'T PLAY WAR! SO THERE!"
From *Humanité* (Paris, France)



PER I VINTI PER I VINCITORI

AN ITALIAN OF PEACE

"Peace to-day has two faces, one for the victors and one for the vanquished."

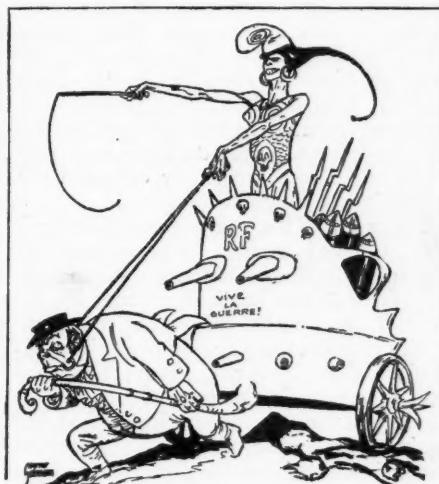
From *Il Secolo XX* (Rome, Italy)

The cartoon at the left, from *Humanité*, pictures Lloyd George as warlike and the French Premier, Poincaré, as peaceful. France had been long accused of being militaristic in its attitude toward Germany, as shown in the cartoon from *Kladderadatsch* reproduced below.



WHAT A CONTRAST!
CONSTANTINE: "The parasols made in England are hardly worth more than those made in Germany."
From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

(The reader will remember that during the early years of the war the Greek Government, under King Constantine, sympathized with Germany. Constantine was deposed by the Allies in 1917. Upon the death of his son, Alexander, Constantine returned to power last year and had been assumed to have the backing of Britain in the recent campaign against the Turks)



BELATED REALIZATION
JOHN BULL: "I never thought the Entente Cordiale meant this!"
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

THE RETURN OF THE TURK

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE EASTERN QUESTION—1922

AS I closed my comment a month ago the news had just come of the occupation of Smyrna by the Turk, and the past four weeks have seen the logical exploitation by the Turks of their victory and the arrival of the Osmanli troops on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles. There they have encountered British troops and we have had a period of high tension accompanied by extravagant forecasts of another general war and of all sorts of dire things. We have had too one more clear evidence of the breakdown of the Entente between Britain France and Italy, for French and Italian troops have been withdrawn from the Asiatic shore and French and Italian policy has favored the Turk rather than the Greek.

To understand this complicated series of events, which have evoked much American interest and some demand for American intervention, it is essential to perceive the real, as contrasted with the apparent, issues involved. Thus, while on the surface there has been a war between Christian and Moslem, there has in reality been a struggle between British and Continental diplomacy. One more chapter has been added to that interminable series which covers the tale of this region since the very dawn of history. Literally on the Plain of Troy, British and Turkish patrols have faced each other in recent days, and British guns have been placed on those very hills where the Turk successfully defended the Straits in the Gallipoli time.

The origin of the war between the Greek and the Turk is simple. Both shores of the Ægean, of the Straits, of the Sea of Marmora and much of the Black Sea Coast are inhabited by Greeks, who also constitute a very considerable fraction of the population of Constantinople. From time immemorial the Greeks have dwelt in this region and both in the classical period and again in the Byzantine era, have controlled most of this region politically. It has been the dream of the Greek race to restore, not alone the "glory which was Greece" in the classical period, and centered about Athens,

but also the more solid material greatness that belonged to the Byzantine Empire, which had its capital at the Golden Horn.

At the close of the World War, which Greece entered very tardily, but in time to share in the spoils, it was natural that Venizelos should ask from the Allies the right to realize Greek aspirations, not alone by the acquisition of Turkish and Bulgarian territories in Thrace, right up to the land door of Constantinople, but also a firm footing on the Asiatic shore in and about the city of Smyrna, which is a great Hellenic center. The Greek claim was strong alike in history and in race, and by far the larger part of what was asked was essentially Greek and under the application of the principle of self-determination would have fallen to the Greek Kingdom.

As for the Turk, he was literally "down and out." The Sultan was a virtual prisoner under the guard of the Allied fleets and armies of occupation in and about Constantinople, the Arab fraction of his Empire had been cut off and there was every indication then, that Armenia too, would be freed. Thus it lay within the power of the Allies to award to Venizelos that which he asked on behalf of Greece, and there was no apparent indication that the Turk could or would resist. Finally, as I have said, the Greek claim was one of the best of the many presented at Paris, and it was urged by a statesman whose ability was of a high order and whose services to the Allies had been great—and he had sought to make them still greater, and failed only because of the hostility of the King, now in exile.

But what were the wishes of the Allies? The British were all for the widest possible recognition of the Greek demands. This was because the course of the Turk in the World War had not only been of utmost embarrassment to the British, but it had repaid with treachery a record of nearly a century of British support against the armed strength of Russia and the Balkan states and against the moral judgment of the rest of mankind. To substitute the Greek for the Turk as the guardian of the Straits, with the eventual reversion of

Constantinople itself, fell in admirably with British policy.

In the World War the Turk had undertaken to raise the religious issue against the Briton in India, in Egypt. The Briton had replied by supporting the Arab in revolt, thus dividing Islam. After the war British policy sought to eliminate the Turk for all time, to remove his religious power by substituting the Arab, to abolish his political power by taking away from him the guardianship of the Straits.

Moreover, one must perceive clearly that all British policy turns on putting a friendly nation on guard at the Straits and that Greece was to play the rôle which in the past had been allotted to the Turk. Britain did not want any great power—Russia, Italy or France—in Constantinople. She desired a small state and a small state which would be responsive to her will. She had controlled the Straits for a century through the Turk, who in the end had played her false. Now she was prepared to back the Greek, whose case was better and whose standing in the world was far higher.

On Greek national and racial aspirations, backed by a strong Greek army and voiced by the ablest statesman who went to Paris either from a great or a small state, the British planned to construct a new Eastern policy, which amounted to a control of the Straits and eventually of Constantinople, exercised through the medium of a Greek domination.

Here is the genesis of the new Eastern Question with which we have to deal—the conjunction of British policy and Greek aspiration. And British policy is based upon regard for the security of India and the Empire generally. To assure this it was at once essential to get rid of the Turk, who had threatened it, and to find a substitute who would fill the place which had once been loyally occupied by the Turk before his German defection.

II. MODIFICATION

At the moment the British came forward with the Greek proposal, what was the situation of France and of Italy, the other Mediterranean powers most concerned? France was still hopeful of receiving British support on the Rhine and a British guarantee against any future German attack. Italy, although she had been promised Smyrna by both Britain and France, as one

of the inducements offered for participation in the war, had her main attention fixed upon the Adriatic, where the fight for Fiume was raging.

It is true that Italy was meditating a descent upon Smyrna, and for this reason the British hurried the Greeks into occupation of that city, and it was equally true that Italy opposed all Greek expansion as narrowing down the future of Italy in the Aegean. But Italy was in no position at the moment to oppose Britain openly. Thus in 1919, when the Treaty of Sèvres was drafted and Greek troops were hurried to Smyrna, both France and Italy acquiesced and French complaisance went much further than Italian, in part, because the Greek divisions of France's Army were lent for service against the Soviet force in the Black Sea region.

But after 1919 came the swift and embittering break between the French and the British. British statesmanship opposed French occupation of Syria because this occupation carried a fatal blow to the British conception of an Arab state, which would replace the Osmanli in the world of Islam. The British had promised the Arabs all of the Arab regions, including Syria, which they had also agreed should be French. If they now turned over Syria, which they had conquered in conjunction with the Arabs, to the French, then Arab hostility would be engendered.

But if the Syrian dispute poisoned Paris sessions and awakened French distrust, the real trouble was in Europe and the true cause of the Anglo-French trouble to be found in German matters. America failed to ratify the treaty guaranteeing with Britain the security of France against a new German attack. Britain refused to give the guarantee alone, furthermore British policy seemed to the French increasingly to favor Germany. When the Russian Reds invaded Poland in 1920 and approached Warsaw, British statesmanship backed the Russians and practically ordered the Poles to accept a frontier settlement which meant the negation of historical and racial claims as good and founded upon an occupation much more recent than the claim of the Greeks to Smyrna.

But the Poles were the allies of the French. For France they represented the assurance of assistance on a new eastern front, if Germany should attack again. British policy revealed itself again when the

question of Upper Silesia came up and the Polish and German claims clashed. Then as before Britain frankly opposed the Poles because of their dependence upon the French and because Polish military reinforcement contributed to establishing French military supremacy on the Continent.

It was natural, it was inevitable, then, that the British attitude toward Poland, the soldier and ally of France in the northeast, should lead to French reprisals directed against the Greek ally and sentinel of Britain in the *Ægean*. In a word, just as soon as Anglo-French rivalries began to crop up, then the smaller powers allied to either state were bound to be involved in the mess.

French policy showed its hand over a year ago when France, through M. Franklin Bouillon, a French parliamentarian of distinction, negotiated a separate treaty with the Angora government. Nominally this treaty only adjusted disputes between France and Turkey growing out of the French mandate in Syria. Actually it constituted a French recognition of Kemal Pasha, who had raised the standard of Turkish revolt against the Treaty of Sèvres and was preparing to challenge Greek possession of Turkish territory. But in reality this separate treaty assured the Turks that France would not join Britain in backing the Greek. On the contrary, it gave the Turk the tacit assurance of French support which would be translated into the despatch of military supplies.

In addition France resigned Cilicia to the Turk and agreed to accept a frontier of the Bagdad railway for the Syrian mandate, while the Turk, who had been engaged in a small campaign against the French to turn the army of occupation out of Cilicia, agreed to respect Syria as newly delimited in the Angora compact. Thus France got out of an imminent war with Turkey and put a spoke in the British-Greek wheel.

Italy promptly followed suit, evacuated Adalia as France had quit Cilicia, gave full assurance that she would not support the Greek, who had actually been sent to Smyrna by the British with French consent to forestall the Italian, promised to furnish arms to the Turk, and, like the French, secured the promise of many rich concessions in Turkish territories. Of course the Italian theory was that if the Turk came back

to Smyrna he could not hold it permanently and the Italian claim would have a chance of realization, while if Greece remained, then there was an end of Italian hopes and eastern Asia Minor was certain to be re-Hellenized and Greece to become a considerable power, thus preventing Italy from repeating the achievements of Rome and Venice which she desired to follow.

Moreover, Italy had no desire to see Britain supreme in the Mediterranean. She had followed Britain in opposing French policy on the Continent, both in Poland and elsewhere, because she objected to French supremacy on the Continent. She now followed the French example in opposing Britain in the Near East, because she was equally hostile to British hegemony on the inland sea. If one is to grasp the meaning of recent events, these cross currents have to be studied carefully.

Still another circumstance had added to the discomfiture of the Anglo-Greek policy. Venizelos had been overthrown. His King, young Alexander, had died and Constantine had returned. But Constantine had been pro-German and was responsible for the murder of many French sailors in Athens. It was one thing to give Smyrna to the Greeks of Venizelos, another to Constantine, brother-in-law of the Kaiser.

One may doubt if this fact actually determined French or Italian policy. Certainly the Italian Government had assisted Constantine to return, just as the Germans had aided Lenin to reach Russia during the war. But it did furnish an admirable color of excuse for French and Italian shifts from Greek to Turkish sides in the controversy and it left the British palpably embarrassed.

Here, then, is the setting for this newest chapter in the Near East. Moreover, it is well to remember that for France and Italy the policy followed was exactly in accordance with that pursued two generations earlier when Napoleon and Cavour in the Crimean War joined Britain in supporting Turkey, but Britain had changed sides and the British change was due to the fact that the Turk in the recent war had deserted to the enemy. Had the Turk remained loyal to Britain, his claim to Smyrna, Constantinople and Eastern Thrace would not have been called in question.

Americans are so easily led to accept moral issues which are in reality only the

propaganda of interested nations that it is essential to bear this fact in mind. The British had backed Turkey in the possession of all and much more than Kemal now claimed for the whole of the Nineteenth Century and were prepared to continue this guarantee in 1914, if Turkey had remained neutral. But the consequences to Britain of this Turkish desertion were so disastrous that Britain had reversed her whole policy, while her recent allies, after some fluctuations had gone back to the traditional British policy of supporting the Turk.

III. THE CATASTROPHE

When last year opened, the Anglo-Greek situation had, then, worsened materially. First of all Greece no longer had the backing of a united Entente. On the contrary, France had gone over to the Turk, and Italy, while not yet actually committed in writing to such a course, had indicated plainly that she meant to follow it and did subsequently pursue it. Meantime the British Arab plan had worked out badly. In relinquishing Syria to France Britain had disappointed Arab hopes and gone back on British promises made to the King of the Hejaz. Moreover in her Palestine mandate her consideration for the Jew had aroused Mohammedan resentment.

Thus there was rising all over the Islamic world a tide of resentment at British policy in backing the Greek against the Turk. This was felt both in India and Egypt and very loud protests were being heard in London and all over the British Empire against a policy which was tending to raise dangerous passions among nearly a hundred millions of Moslem subjects within the Empire.

This sentiment made it wholly impossible for the British to back the Greeks either with armies or with a fleet. French and Italian withdrawals from Cilicia and Adalia were releasing thousands of Turkish troops which Kemal might use against the Greeks, but not only was British public sentiment such that British statesmen were forbidden to back the Greeks openly, but there were loud demands for the withdrawal of British troops from Mesopotamia, that is, for the abandonment of the whole Arab dream.

The British Government, following a policy generally and probably correctly ascribed to Winston Churchill, hung on.

There remained a single chance of success. Kemal's army was still weak in numbers and lacking in equipment and war materials. If the Greek army, which was well supplied from British sources, should strike suddenly and swiftly it might destroy Kemal's army before it received French or Italian material—and if Kemal's army was abolished then Turkey would inevitably collapse and could be controlled through the weak Sultan, who was virtually a prisoner in Constantinople and was ready to sign the Treaty of Sèvres.

So the gigantic gamble of a great campaign was tried. When it failed, as it did, the game was up. Yet retreat was not easy. Last spring, when the matter was discussed by British, French and Italian representatives, all were agreed that the Greeks must leave Asia Minor, evacuate Smyrna. But the Turks demanded Thrace as well and this meant both sides of the Straits. But now the British were in the situation of having directly sought the ruin of the Turks, while the French had become their first friends. Thus it was probable that, precisely as Greek occupation would have meant predominant British influence, Turkish return would involve similar French influence.

What the British hoped was that the Greeks would hold on in Asia Minor until Europe met at a new conference called at Venice and that the Allies, who were nominally agreed as to the neutrality of the Straits, would compel the Turk to relinquish his Thracian hopes in return for the restoration of his Asiatic territories. Turkey would thus have come to the Asiatic shores of the Straits, but Greece would have retained Thrace with Gallipoli, and both shores would have been maintained without fortifications.

This British maneuver was destroyed by Kemal's offensive. His victory swept the Greeks out of Asia Minor. He thus acquired precisely those territories which were to be offered to him in return for his acceptance of Allied terms as to Thrace. As a consequence, when he had reached the Straits, he was in a position to demand possession of Thrace. The British had thus lost their territorial resources for negotiation.

Moreover, it is well to see things as they are. While it is conceivable that British troops and ships could have maintained the Chanak position on the Asiatic shore of the

Dardanelles and it is without question that they could have prevented Turkish entrance into Europe, the real menace to Britain was not here but in Mesopotamia immediately and in all British Mohammedan lands ultimately. In addition to finding a strong army to garrison the Straits, the British would have been compelled to raise still another army to hold Mesopotamia, and since India could not be asked for troops, the forces would have to come from Britain and the Dominions, as well as from the nations still nominally allied to the British Empire.

This explains the rather hysterical and hardly candid appeal that was put out by the British Cabinet immediately after the Turkish success was disclosed in its full magnitude—an appeal to France and Italy, to Rumania and Jugoslavia, and finally to the British Dominions other than India. It disclosed the British Cabinet in the mood to resist the Turks. Also it disclosed the recognition in London that such resistance meant war.

But the response to this appeal was everywhere chilling. The Italian and French governments, while paying lip service to the doctrine of the neutrality of the Straits, ordered their own troops to quit the Asiatic shores and signified that they would not under any circumstances oppose the Turks with arms. Jugoslavia and Rumania were equally unresponsive. Among the Dominions, Canada and South Africa were silent, Australia gave a conditional promise of aid, and only New Zealand rallied unhesitatingly.

General Harrington, the British commander, was left with a slender force facing the advancing Turk on the Asiatic shore, while both French and Italian troops retired and the governments and press of these countries urged similar retirement upon the British. In all this time the Turkish armies continued to advance and presently we had a situation in which war seemed almost inevitable—not a general war, but an Anglo-Turkish war. In London, at the same time, it became clearer and clearer that public sentiment was dead against such a war. This was the situation when M. Franklin Bouillon, who had negotiated the French treaty with the Turks, was sent to Kemal and brought back a Turkish consent to discuss terms for an armistice and refrain from any attack upon the British for the moment.

By this time France and Italy were both disclosed as prepared to go to almost any length to placate the Turk and thus prevent war. The British were thus completely isolated. They were prepared to yield in the matter of Thrace, but they were faced with a terrible loss of prestige if they retired before the Turkish army unconditionally and the Cabinet continued from Downing Street to declare British fidelity to the principle of the neutrality of the Straits, a principle Mr. Hughes declared was acceptable to the United States.

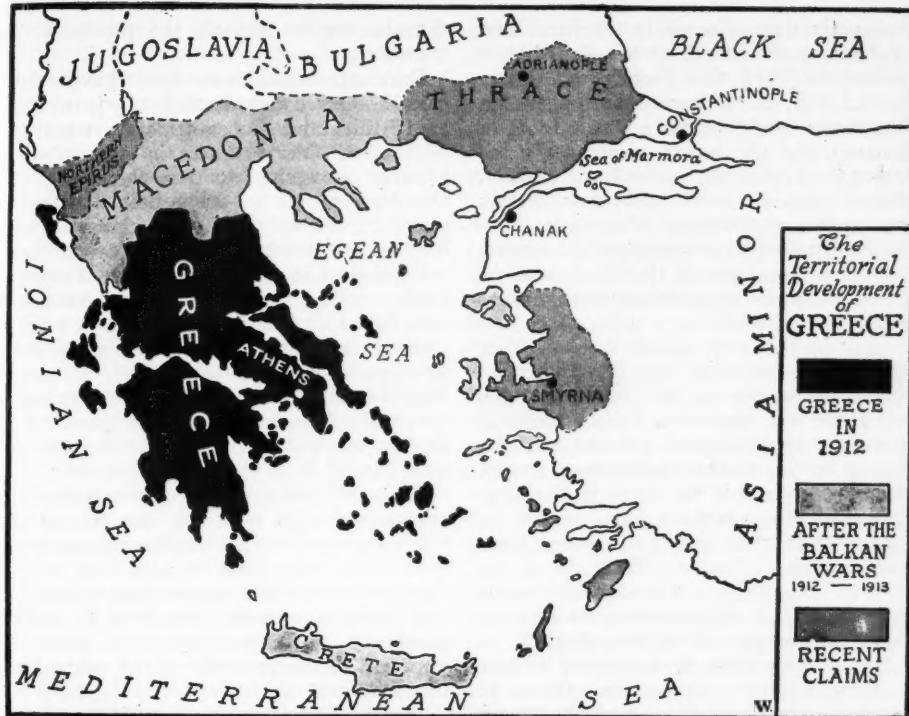
One must perceive, however, that if the Turks should regain both shores of the Dardanelles, then the doctrine of neutrality would become a mere empty formula, for the Turks held the Straits against the French and British in 1915, mainly with fortifications improvised at the last moment and without heavy artillery and plentiful ammunition, both of which they now command in large quantities. In contending for the freedom of the Straits, therefore, the British were manifestly striving to find some way to escape with dignity from a situation which had become intolerable.

As for the Greeks, they overthrew Constantine, appealed to Venizelos, who in London took up their cause, but, unfortunately for them, no one could now help them without actually engaging in war with the Turks and no one was willing to do this.

IV. AMERICAN INTERVENTION

And at this point it is perhaps pertinent to discuss the American relation to the whole affair. But it is essential to perceive at the outset that we have to deal with a great diplomatic battle between rival powers, with the control of the Mediterranean and the Near East as the shining reward of victory. The British had backed the Greek as they backed the Turk all through the last century, because British imperial interests are bound up in domination of the Mediterranean. Half a century ago the British threatened to make war upon Russia if large Christian populations in Bulgaria were not returned to Turkish rule, or misrule, because Bulgaria was then the Soldier of Russia while Turkey was the British sentinel at the Straits.

As recently as 1912, when the Balkan states united to liberate their brethren in Macedonia and in Thrace, a British prime



**TERRITORIES THAT GREECE GAINED IN THE BALKAN CONFLICTS AND THE GREAT WAR,
AND WHAT SHE MUST NOW YIELD TO THE TURKS**

(The Turkish victory over Greek forces in Asia Minor leaves Greece without present claim to the region around Smyrna; and in addition the Turkish demands in the coming peace conference will include the return of Eastern Thrace. In all, Greece will lose about 15,000 square miles and retain only 3000 square miles of the territory acquired as a result of the World War)

minister announced that whatever the issue of the strife, no Turkish territory would be alienated. When as a result of the Second Balkan War the Turk reoccupied this same Eastern Thrace, which the Greek must now resign, no British intervention took place. It was not until the Turk deserted the Briton in the last war and sought to raise the British Mohammedan populations, that Britain adopted the Greek thesis.

It must be clear, too, that with Greek occupation of all the regions bordering on the Dardanelles and with these regions demilitarized, two things would happen: first, the Greeks would necessarily accept the leading of the British who had supported them and, secondly, the British fleet would actually dominate the Straits, the more so because in the Washington Conference the ratio of French and Italian capital ships to British was fixed at 1.75 to 5. Thus the combined French and Italian fleets would be powerless in the face of the British.

The British sought by backing the Arab against the Turk to avoid all religious issues in their Mohammedan lands and substitute the friendly Arab for the hostile Turk in the control of the Khalifate. They sought by putting the Greek instead of the Turk on guard at the Straits to regain a control which they had exercised through most of the last century, and only lost when Enver Pasha took the Turk into the World War on the German side.

Thus there was no moral issue involved, so far as the British were concerned, save as the Greek case might incidentally be better than the Turkish. The whole thing was patently a policy of a statesmanship which sought to reestablish on firm foundation British supremacy in the Near East and chose the Greek instead of the Turk as the more useful agent, after having used the Turk for nearly a full century.

France and Italy took the other side for a variety of reasons. The French saw a chance to gain something approximating

the dominating influence in the Near East by backing the Turk, as the British had backed the Turk with French and Italian assistance in the Crimean War, and later. The Anglo-French alliance was a thing of the past and the British were openly opposing the French ally in the East, namely, Poland. France would thus pay Britain back in her own coin by bringing to nothing the British plans with respect of Greece. But more than this, if the Turk won, he would naturally give his favor to France rather than Britain.

Italy had a more direct interest. She was, it goes without saying, opposed to British hegemony in the Mediterranean, just as she was opposed to French predominance on the Continent, but she was also utterly hostile to the expansion of Greece because Greece was her rival in the Near East, and this expansion must necessarily take place in lands Italy had marked down for her own. Moreover, Italy was in no state to make war and war was bound to be the consequence of opposition to Kemal's claims and support of British policy.

I dwell upon these circumstances because it seems to me of utmost importance to emphasize the situation in which the United States would have to mix. Moreover, what could we do? Exactly one thing, send to the Straits an army large enough to defend them against Kemal. No moral influence would have any weight because Britain, although she occupied Constantinople, dominated the Straits and seas with her fleets, and held the Sultan a prisoner in Constantinople, has been unable to exercise any restraining influence.

Kemal has a victorious army of some 100,000, which can be largely expanded because he has much raw material in the way of recruits and practically unlimited equipment captured from the Greeks. But it is extremely doubtful if the United States could to-day send a fully equipped division, say 30,000 men, overseas without resort to conscription or an appeal for volunteers. That is the military side of intervention and it is the only one that can be considered.

But after intervention it would be necessary to do one of two things—either to maintain our army indefinitely in the Near East or else, following the Greek example, undertake a great campaign of invasion, in which case we should need a much larger army and have to operate over a vast area,

thus having to face all the problems of transport.

Once in the situation we should have to decide whether we wished indefinitely to occupy the Straits and Constantinople, together with a considerable area in Asia Minor, whether we desired to turn the control of the Straits over to the British and their allies, the Greeks, thus establishing British hegemony in the Mediterranean, or whether we would choose to follow some Franco-Italian policy, which would be necessarily anti-British. American intervention would mean, then, not only war but a long war and an indefinite occupation after victory. Would it mean too, continued involvement, to use the President's own word, not only in European political affairs but in the most complicated of all European questions?

Obviously neither the present Administration, with its record in the matter of foreign adventures, nor the American people were in the least ready to undertake a foreign war and its inescapable concomitants. Our action was limited, therefore, to useful succor of the victims and to a declared approval of the principle of the neutrality of freedom of the Straits. Yet again it is necessary to recognize that if the Turk obtains the title to both shores of the Straits, and Allied armies and fleets are withdrawn, as seems assured, then the freedom of the Straits will be an empty phrase, for the Turk can close them at will by bringing up a few heavy guns and digging a few trenches, as the Gallipoli campaign demonstrated.

There was, too, some discussion of the possibility of an intervention by the League of Nations, but this was obviously just as impossible, even more so, for the League had no army and no resources to obtain an army. Had the question been debated at Geneva, France and Italy would have supported the Turk, while the British would have stood by the Greek, and none of the other nations would have promised a man or a ship.

Always the key of the situation lay and lies in the fact Kemal had an army and was prepared to fight, while the Greek army had been routed, the British were unwilling to employ their army, and therefore the return of the Turk was unavoidable unless he should force a reluctant Britain into a war which would be unpopular, and in the field of domestic politics terribly expensive for the coalition government.

The only other possible solution was an American intervention with a large army. This intervention would, as I have said, have involved a long campaign, expensive in blood and treasure and a protracted if not a permanent occupation of much territory—or at least a guarantee of protection against the Turk for the country to which we turned over the region we might conquer. This would mean, in fact, a reversion to the Wilsonian idea of an American mandate in the Near East.

Of course one should add that the immediate effect of our intervention in the Near East and active operations against the Turk would be the destruction of our educational institutions, of which Robert College is only the most conspicuous. Indeed, it is a matter for conjecture whether our endorsement of the principle of the free Straits may not have an evil effect in this regard, for the Turk is bound to see in this an unfriendly intimation.

Hitherto we have been able to accomplish a great deal of useful service to the races inhabiting Turkey by reason of the fact that where every other European mission has been justly suspected by the Turk as covering a political design, American institutions of learning have been secure because it was patent that the United States had no political design in the Near East, and therefore American schools constituted no menace to Turkish statesmen. Should we now become an active participant in the solution of Eastern questions the Turk would inevitably see in our activity an evidence that we too desired to share in his estate, and he would in that event close his empire to our schools.

V. TURKISH CLAIMS

It remains now to discuss briefly the Turkish claims, which amount to the demand for the scrapping of the Treaty of Sèvres, a treaty, by the way, which, unlike that of Versailles, was never ratified, and therefore has no real vitality.

The Turk demands first of all that his rule be restored unconditionally in Asia Minor outside of the neutralized zone of the Straits and Syrian and Mesopotamian mandates. He agrees to the neutralization of the Straits, both on the Asiatic and European shores, but this neutralization would exclude both Allied and Turkish troops and would amount, in fact, to the withdrawal of

British troops at Chanak, since the other Allied troops have already been recalled.

As to Europe, he demands the occupation of Constantinople and the withdrawal of all Allied troops which for three years have been in garrison there. In addition, he demands the frontier of 1914 in Europe, that is, the boundary with Bulgaria which was fixed after the Second Balkan War, the Istranja Mountains on the north, and the Maritza River on the west, save for the small area facing Adrianople on the western bank of the river, a strip of territory ceded by Turkey to Bulgaria when the latter entered the World War and assigned to Greece under the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres.

This demand for territory beyond the Maritza is of small importance, it merely removes Greek control from a few miles of the Orient Railway which connects Constantinople with European capitals. Patently it could not be expected that the Turk would consent that the Greek should hold this strip of territory, and with the loss of the eastern half of Thrace it would have no particular importance to Greece and would, in any event, be indefensible. The new Greco-Turkish frontier would thus follow the Maritza from the *Ægean* to Dimotika, and then across country to the Bulgarian boundary a few miles north and west of Dimotika.

As a result of these changes, Greece would lose in Asia six or seven thousand square miles with a population of a million. The only considerable city in this area is, or was, Smyrna. In Eastern Thrace Greece would lose about 9000 square miles with a population of about half a million, and including the considerable city of Adrianople. Thus of all the territory acquired as a result of the World War Greece would retain only about 3000 square miles between the Maritza and the Nesta on the *Ægean* coast, containing rather more than 150,000 inhabitants.

At the outbreak of the First Balkan War Greece had an area of 25,000 square miles and a population of slightly more than 2,500,000. By this war, and the subsequent struggle with Bulgaria the following year, Greece added 17,000 square miles and 2,000,000 inhabitants. This together with the territory acquired from Bulgaria in the World War and just mentioned, would give Greece an area of 45,000 square miles and a population, allowing for the increase

between 1913 and the present day, of about five millions.

If Greece is to be forced to retire from Thrace, to enable the great powers to escape trouble with Turkey, it seems only reasonable that Greece, which got into the mess through Allied influence, should receive some compensation—beyond all else that Britain, which is most immediately responsible for Greek misfortune, should make any possible reparation.

Such reparation is at hand in the shape of Cyprus, an island in the Near East with a purely Greek population. This island was offered to Greece in 1915, provided she would enter the war on the Allied side, and the promise might be made again, provided Greece retires from Thrace. In addition Italy continues to occupy the Dodecanese Islands in the *Æ*gean, which she has promised to turn over to Greece. Here again all of the population, some 60,000, are Greeks, eager to enter the Hellenic state. Finally, Greek claims to Northern Epirus have been several times recognized by the great powers and only Italian jealousy here, as in the case of the Dodecanesus, has blocked legitimate Greek aspirations.

Could Hellenic hopes be satisfied in Epirus, the Dodecanesus and Cyprus, Greece would obtain some 6000 square miles and around 600,000 people, which would be a fair offset for her surrenders in Thrace. It is manifest that Greece is to be sacrificed in any event, precisely as Bulgaria was sacrificed at the Congress of Berlin, to the necessities or selfish interests of the great powers, and this particular page in Near Eastern history will certainly be one of the most soiled, but the contributions which I have suggested could and should be made.

By contrast Bulgaria, which held the region between the Nesta and the Maritza, Western Thrace, until the Paris Conference, when it was transferred to Greece by the Treaty of Neuilly, is bound to seek to regain her lost territory, which constituted her sole access to the open sea, and this Bulgarian claim is likely to produce complications. But the states of the Little Entente, notably Rumania and Jugoslavia, are hardly likely to consent to the tearing up of the Treaty of Neuilly, which was ratified, for this might establish a precedent dangerous to those other treaties made in the same general settlement by which they

acquired vast territories, certain of them at the expense of Bulgaria.

This region of Eastern Thrace, which is now to be returned to Turkey, was lost by the Sultan to Bulgaria in the First Balkan War, regained during the Second, in part ceded to Bulgaria once more in 1915, as an inducement to enter the War on the Turkish side and was occupied by the Greeks in 1919. Each change of sovereignty has seen a voluntary or forced migration of the conquered races. Turk, Greek, Bulgar, then Turk and Bulgar together, have been led to depart in large numbers and the population has declined by at least half in the past decade.

It was, moreover, the battleground between the Byzantine Greek and the Bulgar for centuries before the Turk entered Europe and Adrianople was the first Turkish capital in Europe. In this region the three races are inextricably mingled. The Greek predominates along the coast and in the cities; there are many Bulgars in the north, and until recent years, at least, many Turks in the north and center.

Ten years ago the Bulgarians made a desperate effort to take Constantinople and after their victory at Lule Burgas and their capture of Adrianople were held with difficulty at the Chatalja Lines, which in the Treaty of Sèvres marked the Greco-Turkish frontier. While they were in possession of Eastern Thrace the Greeks could hope for the ultimate reversion of Constantinople. With their withdrawal Bulgarian claims are once more revived, while Bulgarian determination to recover the old *Æ*gean frontage between the Maritza and the Nesta also leaves an ugly problem for the future.

VI. PEACE OR WAR

As I close this article, feverish conferences are going on between the representatives of the Allies and the Turks, with the Greeks represented, at Mudania, and the capitals of the world are being stirred by rumors of a break and disturbed by the possibility of hostilities between British and Turkish troops along the south bank of the Straits.

In the progress of the debate the issue has been modified until practically the only question to be decided is the date of the Turkish occupation of Constantinople and Eastern Thrace. There is no longer any dispute over eventual Turkish occupation,

or even over the withdrawal of the Allied troops in garrison in Constantinople and about the Straits.

The Turk, on his side, displaying interesting solicitude for the safety of the Moshammedan populations of Thrace still under Greek control, demands immediate possession of Thrace as well as Constantinople. Greeks, with even more warranted concern for the Christian populations of Thrace, are pleading for an extension of time in evacuation, and the British are firmly supporting this stand, while the French and the Italians seem willing to grant the extreme demands of the Turk.

Venizelos is acting in Europe for the Greeks, but despite the development of a sentiment in Athens favorable to the defense of Thrace, the great Cretan has warned his countrymen no such course can be followed. British public sentiment seems largely to incline to the French and Italian view that war must be avoided at all hazards, and there is rising in the country a very striking wave of sentiment against the whole Eastern episode, which is charged against Lloyd George and Winston Churchill.

We have, of course, to consider the possibility that there may be fighting between the Turks and the British. The former are flushed with victory and insistent upon realizing at once the full benefits of that victory. The British are reinforcing their troops at Chanak about the Dardanelles, and there are constant incursions of Turks into the neutral zone. It remains a British purpose to stay at Chanak until the Conference of Venice is held and the terms of peace actually settled. So far, too, the British are demanding that there shall be a thirty-day delay to enable the Christian populations, some 200,000 in number, to be moved out of Thrace. A similar exodus from Constantinople is inevitable.

Before this article is printed we shall probably see the question of war or peace decided in the Near East. But in any event war now will be restricted to Britain and Turkey, although of course the Greeks would fight to hold Thrace if they had British backing. The Turk can not possibly want to precipitate actual conflict, for he is in no shape to meet the British and the Greeks.

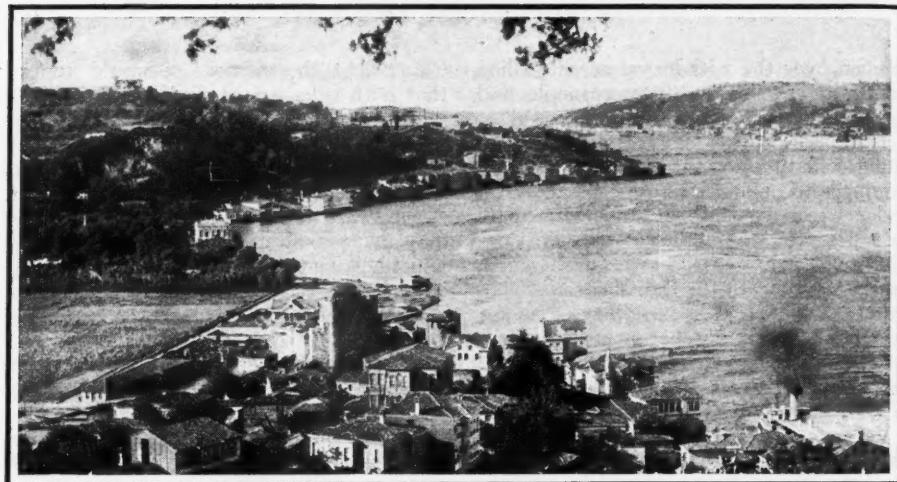
On the other hand, a clash between Turk and Briton would mean a Turkish offensive against Mesopotamia, trouble in all the Moslem lands of Britain from Egypt to

China. At the moment it would appear that both sides are bluffing. The Turk is relying upon the fact that the Allies are divided, and upon the equally important circumstance that British public opinion in the whole Empire is manifestly against a new war, and even the present episode may have political consequences in the United Kingdom of a very far-reaching character.

That Rumania, Jugoslavia, or even Bulgaria, is likely to mix in the affair at the present moment seems totally unlikely. There have been many bellicose utterances from Moscow, but despite the satisfaction the Reds are displaying at the humiliation of their British enemies and at the manifest division of the Allies, no actual military action is likely. Even Berlin, which shares the Soviet pleasure and welcomes the complete destruction of one of the treaties made after German defeat, as a promise that the Treaty of Versailles may yet be revised by the sword as that of Sèvres has been, is unlikely to move in any present time.

It is not war which is the most alarming immediate possibility of the Turkish victory; rather it is the disclosure of the complete breakdown of all European concord and the revelation of the fashion in which the conflicting interests of the great powers, France, Italy and Britain, make concerted action impossible. The Russian Reds were almost able to destroy Poland as a consequence of a similar division two years ago. Germany has so far been able to escape any real effort to meet reparation obligations as a consequence of the same state of affairs.

Looking to the future, it is almost impossible to exaggerate the evils which may ultimately flow from the present developments. From the Baltic to the Black Sea all of Central Europe is now in a state of unstable equilibrium. No common policy unites the victorious powers, and public sentiment in the three great nations which united to defeat Germany will not consent to military operations, even if national policies could be reconciled. To say that Europe is on the verge of a new general war seems to me to mis-state existing conditions. To say that international political anarchy seems to abolish all present hope of settlement and forecast ever-increasing international anarchy, on the other hand, is to assert that which is becoming an almost self-evident fact.



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THE DARDANELLES

OUTSTANDING FACTORS IN THE NEAR EASTERN CRISIS

BY WILLIAM T. ELLIS

[Mr. Ellis has had unusual opportunities to study the factors involved in the Near Eastern crisis. Many years ago he journeyed around the world investigating social, religious and political conditions for American newspapers. During the world war he was a correspondent on the Persian, Caucasus, Rumanian and French fronts. After the Armistice he was special correspondent of the *New York Herald* in the Balkans, Turkey and Egypt. In the following article he writes from intimate, personal knowledge.—THE EDITOR]

THE editor has suggested that an article be written upon this confused Near Eastern situation "that can be read aloud in families." The average American wants this perplexing issue reduced to terms that even the boys and girls may understand; and what is there more important than that the people who are living through an epochal period of history should be able to comprehend its factors and its significance? Big things are simplest; and what is happening about the Mediterranean to-day is so great that it may be stated in primary terms.

The Setting of the Scene

Stand off far enough and look long enough at the situation in Turkey and it becomes apparent that we are beholding the recurrence of the great place-drama of the centuries. With enkindled awe we perceive that this big thing is happening right where

many or most of the other big things of history have happened. Once more the world has come to a crisis around the waters of the Mediterranean; and afresh we realize the prophetic sagacity which named this sea of the ancients "the Middle of the Earth." Memory goes back to the map-changing, world-overturning events staged on these same shores, by Babylonia, by Assyria, by Greece, by Persia, by Rome, by Egypt, by Christianity, by Mohammed, by the Crusades, by Napoleon, by Great Britain, and by the Kaiser. There is something uncanny about this place-persistence. Destiny seems to have pitched its tent permanently upon the shores of "the Great Sea." Forces greater than we know are at work to make this the decisive place of history. This is a good time to get down the old family Bible, or the atlas, and fix clearly in mind the location of this body of water that is central to Bible Lands; and the part

that these same Bible Lands are playing in to-day's dispatches.

Asia Minor's Ancient Struggles

Since days long antecedent to the art of history-writing, Asia Minor, or Anatolia, as we now call that arm of the continent of Asia thrust up toward Europe, and enfolded in the waters of the Mediterranean, the Straits, and the Black Sea, has been a decisive battleground of world conquest. All the great empires planted their flags and peoples there. In this region the Turks, nomads out of central Asia, came to national unity and power, by conquest of the Graeco-Roman Empire. That defeat of the Greeks five centuries ago was by no means a swift and sudden rout, such as the past few weeks have witnessed. Greek residents remained, and have remained until this day, ever dreaming the dream of departed glories, and nursing the hope of a restoration of the cross to the sacred soil where the crescent has supplanted it. All throughout the Christian East "the Great Idea" is a stereotyped phrase which signifies the return of the cross to the dome of St. Sophia, in Constantinople.

The Greeks Under Turkish Rule

Although conquered, the Greeks never gave up their faith or their hope. By the Turkish law of the "millet," or religious community, under which all the Christian and Jewish groups in the Ottoman Empire lived, they were governed in many respects by their own religious leaders (religion and politics being strangely blended in the Near East), and represented before the government by them. The Greek Patriarch of Constantinople was a recognized official. This law of the "millet" enabled the Christians to maintain their identity and solidarity and purpose.

Smyrna, which the Moslems called "Gaiour," or Christian Smyrna, one of the seven cities to which the messages of the Book of the Revelation were addressed; and famous as the home and bishopric of Polycarp, who knew St. John, was the center of the Greek population. The Greeks clearly outnumbered any other single group in this great seaport of many races; although no trustworthy statistics have ever been compiled; and their claim to be a majority of the total polyglot population has been challenged. Greeks were also found in large numbers in every community in Anatolia, as elsewhere

about the Mediterranean; and they were so strong in southwestern Asia Minor that there was much talk, after the Armistice, of their being made into an independent nation, on the plea that they were of a purer Greek stock than the inhabitants of Greece; and that they had national interests apart from the motherland. This separatist movement succumbed to the patriotic and religious dream of Pan-Hellenism.

Greek Mistakes After the War

With the Allied victory in the war, and the apparent triumph of the Wilson principles of self-determination, it seemed as if the hope was about to be fulfilled. Everything they wanted the Greeks were to have, except the immediate return of Constantinople, and Mr. Venizelos assured me in Paris that this was desired, but doubtless also inexpedient. As for the Turks, they were beaten, broken and helpless, fully expectant of richly-deserved punishment for the Armenian atrocities. The wheel had turned; the proud sons of Othman were down and the Greeks were up.

Then two great blunders were made, two real wrongs committed. The history of the Near East since the Armistice may be told in terms of a Sunday-school homily. First, the Greeks exceeded their rights and the moral obligations that are paramount among civilized nations. They pushed their lines in Anatolia far beyond the limits assigned them by the Allies, and beyond their own legitimate claims. They undertook to do to the Turks what the Turks had done to them. There were excesses and atrocities by the Greeks; notably the massacre in Smyrna upon the day of their landing, in March, 1919.

This inflamed the Turks and the whole Moslem world. The defeated Ottoman people were given occasion to flaunt their own new wrongs, which they have suffered at the hands of Christians, so that the attention of the nations was diverted from the Turks' earlier and greater guilt. Turkey was given a cause and a rallying-cry, which directly brought into existence the Nationalist movement and the Nationalist army. The culprit moved from the prisoner's box into the prosecutor's position.

Blunders of the Allies at Constantinople

The other blunder and moral wrong that lies at the root of all these dire events of

late days in Asia Minor was the shocking failure of the Allies to carry out in Turkey the clear mandate of the Peace Conference, and of civilization and Christendom, to punish the guilty Turks for the Armenian atrocities; which the Sultan himself told me were "the worst crime of the centuries." Terrible consequences are likely to ensue whenever justice is ignored or put to shame. No successful international policy can ever be built up on an open betrayal of clear justice. This is the center and circumference of the offending of the Allied nations in respect to the Near East. They let considerations of policy and possible individual advantage to themselves take precedence of downright duty.

Instead of devoting themselves unitedly, after their arrival in Constantinople as rulers of the defeated Ottoman nation, to the sheer and simple obligation to punish the perpetrators of the great crime against the Armenian Christians, the representatives of the Entente gave themselves up recklessly to furthering their individual national ambitions and interests. The clock was turned back; days that the soldiers in France thought had passed away forever were brought in again; and the old diplomacy, of intrigue, imperialism and commercial greed, once more was re-established upon the banks of the Bosphorus. Even outward concord among the Allies quickly disappeared. It was each for himself, and the devil take the hindmost—though, of course, as inevitable, the devil seems to have got them all. Good faith vanished along with good-will; and it was only a matter of weeks before the representatives of the three principal Allied nations were openly intriguing with the Turks and against one another. Unity of purpose disappeared. Moral obligations were forgotten. Naturally, in these conditions, the Turk regained confidence, and concluded that instead of punishment he stood to win a great diplomatic triumph over those who had beaten him in war.

The Powers Intrigue Against One Another

In those long months of plot and counter-plot, each European power avid to seize everything possible for itself, there came to pass a series of national re-alignments. Great Britain used the Greeks for her own ends—it was the British who sent the Greek troops into Smyrna, to thwart an expected secret landing by the Italians—

and France used the Armenians, uniforming and arming them. The Italians stuck closest to the Turks. Italian munitions were used by the Turks against British, French and Greeks; as later Italian and French equipment armed the Turks in their recent smashing of the Greeks. •

Intrigue is the sort of game that the Turks can play better than any other people in the world; and soon the mutually suspicious and contending Allies were deprived of everything they had grasped in Asia Minor, except what the Greeks held. The French, beaten, disarmed their Armenian mercenaries, and left them to a cruel fate. The Italians withdrew their forces from Adalia and Konia, where they had marked out a rich "sphere." Great Britain lost her hold upon the Bagdad Railway, and had to withdraw her troops to the Straits, where she was temporarily dominant at Constantinople. France and Italy followed the example of Soviet Russia in making separate treaties with the Nationalist Turkish Government at Angora.

Rout of the Greeks in Anatolia

In due time came the inevitable collapse of the distended Greek military adventure in Asia Minor. The rout was one of the most complete in history; and it resulted more from the disintegration of Greek morale than from the military power of the Turks. Some Greek regiments are reported by English writers to have hoisted the red flag and assassinated their officers. Greece is now without a foothold on the continent of Asia. Turkey is in more complete control of Anatolia than she was before the war. Where Greeks were once a majority population, and unquestionably entitled to self-government, they are now either a crushed minority or else a fear-smitten subject population. Hundreds of thousands of them are abject refugees on the Aegean islands or in Greece. The Treaty of Sèvres has become a "scrap of paper."

Desperate Situation of the Armenians

Even worse are the plight and the prospects of the Armenians. Like the Greeks, they were a widely-distributed commercial population, settled wherever trade was to be carried on amidst their less business-like neighbors. In every town and city Armenians were to be found; but the great centers of Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire were three:

First, the Cilician Plain, that fertile and historic bit of lowland, containing the cities of Tarsus, Adana and Mersina, lying between the Taurus Mountains and the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean. By the agreement of the French with the Turkish Nationalists, whereby the former relinquished all claims to Cilicia, the Armenians to the number of hundreds of thousands were forced to flee for their lives.

Secondly, the storied city of Van, in the lower Caucasus, north of the Tigris River, was the strongest urban center of Armenians in Turkey. The Van district included other cities, such as Bitlis, and impinged on that section of upper Mesopotamia where dwelt a large Armenian element, especially in Diarbekir and Urfa.

Thirdly, the present Soviet Republic of Armenia, in the heart of the Caucasus, with its capital at Erivan, under the shadow of Mount Ararat, and near the seat of the Armenian Catholicos at Etchmiadzin, where Gregory the Illuminator first gave the Armenians the Christian Faith, in the early part of the fourth century. This is the historic homeland of "the People of Ararat," and it is here, in federation with the Moscow Soviet Government, that the Armenians have established their nation. Americans who do not understand the Bolshevik character of the Armenian Republic were shocked to find it sending an official telegram of congratulation and good-will to the Turkish Nationalists, after the victory of the latter. It is prudent for the little peoples on the fringe of revived Turkey to show due deference.

The Rising Moslem Power

Turkey, unpunished, unchastened and newly arrogant, is a victorious power in historic Asia Minor. Angora has given up all claims to the Arabic-speaking population of the former Ottoman Empire; the more willingly since these peoples themselves are making endless trouble for their new European overlords. The gravest dangers in the present upheaval lie not in the direction of the Balkans and Europe, but toward the aroused East, where the Moslem peoples feel the Turkish victory as their victory; and the discrediting of Europe as a sacred duty to be carried on to completion. One need not be a venturesome prophet to predict that the debacle in Asia Minor is the forerunner of the loss of their Moslem possessions by all the European nations. Mustapha Kemal's sensational

victory is but the climax of the steadily lessening prestige of the western powers in the Near East.

For this reason we should take a rather close look at the vast Arabic-speaking regions of the former Ottoman Empire. These included Arabia proper, "Arabia Deserta," the oasis-dotted barren peninsula that dips down from Palestine and Syria between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. This is the home of the Bedouin, the nomad Arabs. It has few cities, of which Mecca and Medina are the most famous, because respectively the birthplace and burial place of Mohammed. These are the principal shrines of the Moslem faith, to which every adult follower of the Prophet is expected to make pilgrimage at least once in his lifetime; becoming thereby a "hadji," or one who has made the "haj."

Holy Lands of Islam, Jew, and Christian

This particular part of Arabia is called the Hejaz, the holy land of Islam. It numbers something more than a quarter of a million Arab inhabitants, and is about 750 miles long and 200 miles wide, lying cheek by jowl with Palestine and the Sinai Peninsula. Because of the religious significance of this sandy waste, Great Britain, during the war, established the Hejaz as a separate kingdom, with a direct descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, by name Hussein, as king. His forces, led by his son Feisal and Colonel Lawrence, materially helped in breaking the Turkish army in the East.

It was originally purposed to elevate Hussein to the office of Caliph of Islam, to supplant the Sultan of Turkey, and thus break the religious power of the Ottoman Empire. Even though Hussein is of the Prophet's line, and reigns in the Moslem holy of holies, Mecca, where it has been certain death for a Christian to be discovered, he has not been accepted by the Faithful of the world. Indeed, since the armistice his capital itself, sacred Mecca, has been invested by the ultra-orthodox Arabs who dwell next door, the Wahabis, and Hussein has needed British military help to withstand his foes.

All this section of romantic Arabia comprised within the Peninsula, of which Hejaz and Iraq and Transjordania (ruled by Abdullah, another son of Hussein) and the Nejd are but parts, means less to readers of the REVIEW than that strip of land lying

between the Mediterranean and "Arabia Deserta"—the Holy Land of the Bible, where also Arabic is the common speech. Although historically, geographically, socially, linguistically and economically one, the Holy Land was divided during the war into two parts, Syria and Palestine, by a Franco-British secret treaty, and it is now administered as two mandates, both filled with restless and protesting peoples, who want a "United Syria" and immediate independence.

Egypt, over which Turkey was suzerain until the late war, is also included in the Arabic-speaking section of the Ottoman Empire.

Arabic "Self-Determination"

By the Turkish Nationalist Pact—a sort of "Declaration of Independence" document, adopted by the Angora Assembly, January 28, 1920, of which the world is likely to hear more—the assorted Arabic-speaking peoples were dismissed from Turkey with a sort of blessing that was meant to be a curse to the European nations: for the Nationalists insist that there shall be full "self-determination" for all Arabs, and then an Arabic Confederation of States. This is an oriental way of saying that the European powers shall get out of the Arabic world, bag and baggage; which is a program with many serious and interesting implications.

The Case of Iraq

Owing to censorship, and to the remoteness of many of the lands involved, America hears all too little of ominous events in the East that are bound up indissolubly with the crisis at the Straits. Take Iraq, for example—for so the lexicographers now spell "that blessed word, Mesopotamia." Great Britain has a League of Nations mandate for Iraq, where, after costly battles and diplomacy, King Feisal had been set up as king over a semi-independent government, with its capital at Bagdad. During the war, Mesopotamia was "consecrated with British blood"—as the euphemism for tragic official blundering phrases it—and treasure to a staggering amount had been poured out by the British Government, for military, political and civil purposes. When the figures became known, there was an outcry from the British public that made the word "Mesopotamia" sound quite other than "blessed."

But the Bull Dog hung on tenaciously, yielding only the original plans for direct

British administration to the form of a puppet monarchy. King Feisal had been ignominiously kicked out of Damascus by the French, and, as a British protégé and asset, he had to be cared for. So he was given the throne of Bagdad, with dreams of a revival of the glories of Haroun er-Raschid and the Caliphate to beguile him and his followers. Already his father, Hussein, had been made king of the Hejaz; and his brother, Abdulla, Emir of Transjordania. Surely there should be no trouble from the Sherifian family, with three thrones thus distributed among it, and the possibility of the Caliphate itself being bestowed upon these direct descendants of Mohammed. In the face of these favors, surely the Arabs would be "good."

Whether Arabs ever will be "good," in the sense of Western civilization, is an open question; for they are prone to argue with knives and guns. At any rate, Iraq has been, from the British standpoint, most ungrateful. It doesn't want to be "mandated," and it doesn't want over-lordship of any sort; and it has been saying so with gunpowder. The cabinet has resigned, the Arab tribesmen are "out," and Iraq declares that nothing short of complete independence will satisfy it. From the Arab point of view, British prestige, British petroleum interests, British trade, and the back door to India, mean less than nothing. "Iraq for the Iraqans!" they cry. They all along have had a much better chance of succeeding in their insurrection than Syria, Egypt or Turkey. So the spectacular victory of the Kemalists spells the inevitable end of British rule in Mesopotamia. Lovers of romance will regret to see Great Britain depart from the ancient realm of Babylonia and Assyria, from the land of the Garden of Eden, the home of Abraham, the place of the exile of the children of Israel.

British Rule in the East Threatened

British taxpayers will be easily reconciled to this loss, for they have been clamorous that the Government should scuttle and run from Bagdad. Public opinion in England is far more concerned as to the reper-
cussion of the Turkish triumph in Egypt and India than anywhere else. The unity of all the Near Eastern nations, both religious and political, makes it certain that Indian and Egyptian Nationalists will not content themselves with the delirious cele-
brations of Mustapha Kemal Pasha'sfeat

which they have been holding. A swift, strong resurgence of nationalism all over the Orient and North Africa is bound to follow recent events in Asia Minor.

Great Britain is not the only loser. The Greek collapse will almost certainly carry with it the failure of the French effort to rule Syria. Even without this extraordinary stimulus, the Syrians have been steadily making progress in their independence. Likewise we must read of the outbreaks in North Africa against Italy, France and Spain in the light of the encouragement given by the Turkish Nationalists.

New Watchwords from America

The wine of Wilsonism went to the heads of the East. No phenomenon of the war was more wonderful than the way in which the old, old peoples of Asia responded to the slogans of liberty, democracy and self-determination. Some day we shall have the full report and story of the King-Crane Commission upon Mandates in Turkey, with its revelation of America's marvelous hold upon the imaginations of the peoples of the Ottoman Empire. Even the roving Arabs of the desert took over the new watchwords into their vocabulary. Turk, Syrian, Egyptian, Persian, Moor, Greek, Armenian, Afghan and Tatar, all became powerfully—perhaps incurably—infected with the virus of the American war aims. These were the master motives in the creation of the Angora Nationalist platform and government. They gave the Turks, fighting for their homeland in Asia Minor, the battlecries which have spurred them to victory. In a word, the Wilson principles have introduced a new, and apparently controlling, factor into the Near Eastern question.

Vox populi seems bound to have the last word around the Mediterranean. Militant democracy has gone back to the land of its origin. It is very clear, in the light of what has happened since the Armistice within the confines of the old Ottoman Empire, that the great issues now up for settlement are not going to be decided by European diplomats in frock coats and silk hats. The peasants with guns and bayonets are re-

writing treaties and agreements. Crude and elemental justice, as seen by these primitive peoples, acting under the stimulus of the Wilson preachments, will be done, regardless of the "interests" and "spheres" of the powers.

Of course, this notion of what is justice carries with it countless injustices, such as the hideous massacres that have blackened the records of all the native belligerents. As one who has seen with his own eyes the heart-sickening sights among the victims of these atrocities by Moslems and Christians, I dare not dwell upon this phase of the subject; except to point out that the punishment which has come upon the European nations in their Asiatic interests seems a direct retribution for their selfish course which is primarily responsible for events of the past three years.

Far-Reaching Results

One closing caution to the student of affairs in the Near East: newspaper dispatches treat conditions there as if they began and ended day by day; as if they were as definite and complete as a prize-fight or a scandal in society. As a matter of obvious truth, continuous processes are under way, not to be quickly stopped or altered by any decisions of councils or cabinets. The consequences of the Turkish victory over the Greeks will continue to operate for years to come. Greeks in the homeland and the Christian survivors in Anatolia will suffer a variety of evils. Turks and Moslems will display arrogance in countless ways. Orientals will look with a new sense of superiority upon Westerners. Confidence in armed resistance to imposed authority will everywhere be strengthened. Coincidentally, the British and European mood against further war in the East will grow steadily stronger. Imperialism will pass under such odium that the fall of Constantine may be succeeded by that of the British Cabinet, as well as other changes in European officialdom.

In a word, no man can tell all that may be consumed in this fire which is spreading from the cross-roads of earth.



THE NEW TARIFF EXAMINED

BY PHILIP G. WRIGHT

[Just as American business men are adjusting themselves to the schedules of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff, which went into effect on September 21, the pros and cons of the measure are being thrashed out in every Congressional district from New England to California. Last month we gave place in these pages to a sincere and well-considered article in defense of the Fordney-McCumber bill by Mr. Edward Nelson Dingley, of Washington. This month the subject is discussed from a different viewpoint by Mr. Wright, an economist who has been in close touch at Washington with the governmental agencies having to do with tariff enactments and especially with the Tariff Commission. Students of American tariff legislation will find his article both suggestive and informing.—THE EDITOR.]

THE era since the war has been characterized by a stiffening of tariff barriers all along the line. Even England, the stronghold of free trade, shows signs of wavering. There is an entering wedge in the doctrine of imperial preference now gaining ground, and in the embargo on dyes. The truth is that the war, which was to be a "war to end war" and to introduce a new era of international coöperation, has, in fact, resulted in a recrudescence of a most intense and narrow nationalism. For free trade, though advanced by Adam Smith, as a policy for increasing national wealth is, in fact, an international policy, and its defenders are in general men with the international point of view, while protectionism is a national policy, a policy for exalting the national spirit and isolating the nation. To the whole-hearted protectionist the economic question is of secondary importance. He might even grant the free-trade argument that by making only the things we are best fitted to make and exchanging them with our neighbor for the things he is best fitted to make we should both be better off in this world's goods. But he would hold that that was a sordid view. It is finer to make everything ourselves, even at an economic loss, to be independent, self-sufficient, free from entanglements, to stand alone in proud, self-contained aloofness. The feeling for protectionism is in this sense closely allied to patriotism. It is also closely associated with fear. The war left an atmosphere of fear and suspicion. Each nation must be on its guard against the Machiavellian plots of every other nation. It must be strong to meet the next war. Self-sufficiency, therefore, it is held, has become not only a pleasing ideal in itself but a necessity.

Intensified Nationalism

In passing judgment on the Fordney bill just enacted into law this world atmosphere must be taken into account. It is in the background of all the debates: specifically in the effort to secure a dye embargo, and generally in the subconsciousness which rose to the surface in such phrases, uttered with a rhetorical flourish a hundred times a day, as "American capital," "American industry," "American labor." The Fordney bill, then, was conceived in the aftermath of the war spirit, and in this spirit it must be broadly interpreted.

But while the general spirit of the act may be thus explained, such explanation is by no means sufficient to account for the details. It has been called by its detractors a "hodge-podge," the result of undignified or disgraceful bargaining between selfish interests, a clash of greed without any consistent guiding principle. And on the surface there are inconsistencies which appear to go far to justify such language. Why was a high duty placed on sugar and blackstrap molasses let in all but free? Why should a crude building material like pig-iron be dutiable and an almost equally universal building material, lumber, be without duty? Why should potash, though a war industry of some importance, be free, while coal-tar products, including dyes, another war industry barely escape an embargo? Why grant a heavy duty to raw wool and deny any duty to long staple cotton, both raw materials for textiles?

Both Revenue and Protection Demanded

On the other hand, its sponsors hail it as the nearest approach to a "scientific" tariff yet enacted. In its compilation, they say,

the House and Senate committees had the aid of expert advisers from the Tariff Commission. While frankly and avowedly protectionist, it is not unduly or extravagantly protectionist. Imports are not to be destroyed. The American producer is to be given only an equal chance.

In truth, it is neither the monstrosity seen by the one nor the paragon seen by the other. It is a logical result of simple and easily enumerated forces. The first of these forces was need of revenue. The war had piled up a large burden of indebtedness and revenue must be collected. The tariff has always been a convenient means of raising revenue, whether fashioned according to Democratic or Republican ideals. Had the Democrats inherited the war burdens, duties would have been raised, though along different lines.

In the second place, but first in the minds of the Republican majority, was the principle of protection to American industries, a principle actively incarnate in the great manufacturing interests and in some agricultural interests throughout the country. This principle was traditional with the Republican party, and in the present instance it was intensified and all but apotheosized by the tidal wave of "hundred per cent. Americanism" that had flooded the national consciousness since the war.

Price Comparisons

But there were forces tending to moderate and prune a too rampant protectionism. The very need of revenue, while it insured an increase of rates, operated generally against an increase that would amount to prohibition. Hence the principle of "equalizing costs of production." Protection was to be freely granted, but, it was claimed, only to the extent of putting the domestic industry on a parity with its foreign competitor. Now it may be said at once that, save in a few instances, where the Tariff Commission had collected costs, this principle was impossible to apply, and, as will be shown later, always will be impossible to apply. What was actually done was to compare prices. An elaborate document known as the Reynolds Report was compiled in which for articles subject to *ad valorem* duties data were secured for comparing foreign with domestic wholesale prices, including data as to landing charges. As the paragraphs were taken up in the Committee it was not an uncommon thing

for one of the Senators to stand at the blackboard and demonstrate by the aid of a piece of chalk and the Reynolds Report what the duty should be. It is fair to say that the House and Senate Committees took a deal of pains in this matter, but it is also necessary to say that in the violent fluctuations of values which have characterized recent years, prices have borne no relation to costs, and that even were prices a proper criterion, the prices at the time the Reynolds Report was compiled (prices were as of August, 1921) bore little or no relation to prices at the time the act was passed.

Two other forces acted in the direction of moderation. The great manufacturing interests which had developed an export trade were lukewarm to duties which would increase their costs of production, and, finally, the chilly reception which the people had given to two previous high protective measures, the McKinley Act and the Payne-Aldrich Act, though seldom mentioned, had a chastening effect. Hundreds of times in the discussion of rates in the committee a member would remark, "I don't think we ought to go above the Payne-Aldrich rate."

Rates Obtained by the Farmers

A very important force in shaping the present act and in giving it its distinctive character was the so-called agricultural bloc. To it are due in whole or in part free potash, free lumber, almost free blackstrap, and high duties on wool, cattle, sugar, lemons, and nearly every other farm product of importance. After the war the farmers were subjected to no little hardship because the prices of farm products fell more rapidly than wages and the prices of manufactured goods. A coalition was formed to work single-mindedly for rates in the new tariff

¹Cases in point where the memory of previous discomfitures affected rates in the present act were wood pulp and newsprint paper. Newsprint had been made dutiable in the Payne-Aldrich tariff at rates of $\frac{3}{16}$ and $\frac{7}{10}$ of a cent per pound. Wood pulp also had been dutiable. Senator McCumber stated that Mr. Taft lost his second election because of the attitude of the newspaper publishers who had been disappointed in their efforts before the Finance Committee to have newsprint put on the free list. In this statement he was supported by Senator Smoot and Senator Watson of Indiana. Mr. Norris of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, it was said, had declared to the Committee that there could be no compromise. The attitude of newspapers in favor of free newsprint and free wood pulp was unalterable and uncompromising. If the Republican party persisted in refusing to yield to the demand for free wood pulp and free newsprint, it would be visited by the political wrath of the entire press of the United States and the Republican party would be driven from power.—*Congressional Record*, August 2, 1922, pp. 11635 and 11868. This statement as to the activity of the newspapers was denied. It is unimportant for the present purpose whether they did so act or not. The belief that they had so acted and might do so again was largely responsible for the presence of standard newsprint and wood pulp on the free list in the present act.

that would be of benefit to the farmer. This group first came into prominence in connection with the Emergency Tariff of May 27, 1921, an act in which duties were enormously raised on numerous agricultural products, and continued to exercise a powerful influence in shaping the present act. The rates which it secured in the Emergency Tariff were in general retained and in some cases increased. The following table will serve to illustrate some of the rates secured by this bloc:

Article	Act of 1922	Emergency tariff	Act of 1913	Act of 1909
Beef and veal, fresh, or frozen, 3c per lb.	2c per lb.	Free	1½c per lb.	
Butter and butter substitutes, 8c "	6c "	2½c per lb.	6c per lb.	
Cheese and cheese substitutes, 5c "	23 per cent.	20 per cent.	6c "	
Corn.	15c per bu.	15c per bu.	Free	15c per bu.
Cotton having a staple of 1½ inches or more in length ¹	Free	7c per lb.	Free	Free
Flaxseed.	40c per bu.	30c per bu.	20c per bu.	25c per bu.
Lemons.	2c per lb.	2c per lb.	In bulk, ½c per lb.	1½c per lb.
Milk, fresh.	2½c per gal.	2c per gal.	Free	2c per gal.
Molasses, testing not above 52% total sugars, and not to be used for the extraction of sugar or for human consumption ²	1/6c per gal.	24 per cent.	15 per cent.	20 per cent.
Potatoes.	50c per 100 lbs.	25c per 100 lbs.	Free	25c per bu. 41.6c per 100 lbs.
Rice.	1c per lb.	2c per lb.	1c per lb.	2c per lb.
Sugar, 96° centrifugals ³ —				
Full duty.	2.206c per lb.	2c per lb.	1.256c per lb.	1.685c per lb.
Cuban duty.	1.765c "	1.6c per lb.	1.005c "	1.348c "
Wheat.	30c per bu.	35 per bu.	Free	25c per bu.
Wool, unwashed ⁴	31c per lb. of cleaned content	15c per lb.	Free	Class 1, 11c per lb. " 2, 12c "

¹"Cotton having a staple of 1½ inches or over in length." This is grown chiefly in Arizona, and is used in the manufacture of thread, aeroplanes, and automobile tires. It competes with Egyptian cotton. Strong efforts were made by the Arizona people to secure protection. They were successful in the Emergency Tariff, but in the present act it went back to the free list.

²"Molasses, testing, etc." This is low grade molasses or blackstrap. It is produced in Louisiana and competes with Cuban blackstrap. Louisiana asked for a high duty and succeeded in the House. But blackstrap is used in the manufacture of cattle feed and the farmers wanted it free. They were successful in the Senate, but the Conference Committee fixed the low rate of 1/6 of a cent per pound.

³"Sugar was one of the greatest bones of contention in the whole act. The duty (Cuban) was raised to 1.6 in the Emergency Tariff. The Louisiana and beet sugar people made every effort to have the rate increased to 2 cents in the Fordney act. They were opposed by the refiners and the great American interests having plantations in Cuba. A compromise rate of 1.765 was reached in the Conference Committee.

⁴"Wool, unwashed." The rate, 31 cents per pound, in the Fordney Act is based on the clean content and is about equivalent to the rate of 15 cents per pound in the grease given in the Emergency Act, but is much higher than the rate in the Payne-Aldrich Act.

The Dye Embargo

The atmosphere of international distrust, previously referred to as a background of the act, manifested itself most conspicuously in the case of dyes. Before the war, Germany had been the chief source of supply, and when the war cut off this source, an amazing development of the domestic industry took place. It represented a capital increase from \$3,000,000 to \$174,000,000. Germany had chemical knowledge, experts, secret processes, all of which had to be rediscovered, assembled, and applied. The leaders of this industry

claimed that because of these disadvantages no ordinary protection was sufficient. They demanded an embargo, and in the Emergency Tariff such an embargo was granted, but with the proviso that a dye might be imported under license, if the same kind could not be found in the United States. A continuation of the embargo was asked for the present act. As the act finally passed the embargo was denied, but a high rate of duty, amounting in many cases to a virtual embargo, was substituted.

The embargo provision was fought for to the last. Though denied in the bill as submitted to the Conference Committee, it had reappeared when the bill was returned to the House. The House, however, ordered the bill back to conference with instructions to strike out.

That the dye embargo was a part of the war legacy is shown by these words of Senator Frelinghuysen in defending it: "We are actuated by higher motives than protection. It is a question of national defense, when we realize that the next war will be fought with chemicals."

Attitude of Congressmen

Such, then, were the forces whose resultant is the Fordney Act. Congressmen were in their grip and the position they took in their speeches and the votes they cast were also resultants. A few illustrations will make this clear. The only two Democratic Senators who voted for the bill were Senators Broussard and Ransdell. Both of these Senators are from Louisiana, a State vitally interested in sugar. By the act Louisiana obtained an increased duty on sugar. Indeed, Senator Broussard introduced and Senator Ransdell eloquently supported an amendment providing for an even higher rate than was finally obtained. It was reported that Senator Kendrick of Wyoming, also a Democrat, would have voted for the bill, if he had been present. Wyoming is one of the most important wool States in the Union, and the high duty on raw wool has already been noted. The support of the dye embargo was undertaken by Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey—the center of the dye industry. Senator Calder, in whose State of New York are located great sugar refineries and the offices of the great American interests operating sugar factories in Cuba, attacked the Broussard amendment and endeavored to secure a rate even lower than that reported by the committee. And in general, in the committees and on the floor, Congressmen in the capacity of attorneys addressed themselves to the task of securing the highest duties attainable for the great industries of their respective States. In this no reproach is intended. Such a procedure was, indeed, regarded as a duty. When Senator Gooding was charged with permitting personal pecuniary motives, incident to his ownership of sheep, to have influenced his advocacy of a high duty on wool and the whole question of Senatorial ethics in such cases was under discussion, Senator Lenroot made the following distinction:

Mr. Lenroot. This is how I believe the line ought to be drawn. Does anybody question that the Senator from Idaho and the Senator from New Mexico in the attitude they took upon wool reflected the attitude of the people of their States? The answer must be that of course they reflected the attitude of the people of their States. The people of these States were entitled to representation upon that all-important question, and therefore in my judgment when the interest of the Senator is exactly the interest of his State, there is no duty and no obligation upon his part to refrain from voting

upon every duty that is the subject of controversy.

On the other hand, if a Senator's interest be special and not the interest of his State, I say without hesitation that I do not believe he ought to vote upon any question which affects his own pocket-book.¹

The situation of Congressmen is brought out bluntly in the following dialogue.

Mr. Ashurst. I desire to say that if my colleague and I fail to stand for Arizona, I should like to know who will stand for Arizona?

Mr. Gooding. Should the Senator and his colleague not do so, the people of Arizona will send other Senators who will stand for her.

Mr. Ashurst. I am well aware of that.²

The act, therefore, was the resultant of conflicting forces and since among the most active of these forces were the dominating industries of the several States, each demanding recognition in the act in the form of a favorable duty, the act has been dubbed a "profiteers'" tariff and a "hodgepodge." But before becoming warm against the profiteers or Congressmen it is well soberly to ask whether in a representative form of government, once the principle of protection is accepted, any other outcome is possible. Members of Congress were but conforming to that theory of government which prescribes it as a representative's duty to reflect the interests of his constituents—a theory which is not only respectable but which in large matters is the only one possible. A representative who did not so act would not long be a representative. And as the great business interests of a State dominate public opinion and the organs of public opinion in that State, the outcome must be that representatives can only interpret the duty of representing the people of the State as that of representing the great business interests of the State.

The economic arguments for the general benefits of free trade are overwhelming. But the benefits are diffused and the beneficiaries unorganized, inarticulate. The business man sorely harassed by competitors can see an immediate relief in protection, and business interests are concentrated, capable of organization, and instantly articulate. If economists desire to bring nations around to their ideal they must organize those interests which will benefit most appreciably by free trade. Among those interests are merchants, exporting manufacturers, and, in spite of the

¹ Congressional Record, August 4, 1922, p. 11,934.

² Ibid, August 12, 1922, p. 12,311.

present attitude of the agricultural bloc, the general farming population.

New Power to the President

The act contains a provision unique in American tariff experience. The President is empowered to increase or decrease the rates within a limit of 50 per cent. each way. The power is not arbitrary; the rate applied must be the rate which will equalize costs of production, the difference in costs to be ascertained by the Tariff Commission.

The merits of the provision are the merits of the policy of equalizing costs as a principle of tariff legislation, a principle to be presently discussed. Objections are raised both on the grounds of constitutionality and expediency.

The constitutionality of the provision hinges on the question whether the power conferred upon the President is legislative or administrative. It is conceded that Congress cannot impart to any official its own power of legislation, but it is argued that in this case Congress has in fact already legislated that the duty shall be the difference between the foreign and domestic costs of production, and that the President and the Tariff Commission are merely authorized to ascertain what that difference is and apply it.

Danger of abuse of power by the President is urged as an objection. It should be noted that the President is rather strictly hedged in and even if he were not, the danger may be easily exaggerated. The President is in the grip of the same forces that control Congress and has the advantage of being able to study each case from a national point of view. He is even less likely to outrage public opinion than members of Congress, for their responsibility is divided; with him it is concentrated.

The constant menace to business stability is also urged. This is a real evil, but as only one rate is being considered at a time, it is a far less evil than is inherent in a complete overturning of all the schedules which takes place at a general revision.

The practical difficulty of ascertaining costs, however, will probably prove insuperable. It is a slow process to obtain domestic costs either by schedule or by visitation of plants. Foreigners will not fill schedules nor suffer agents of the Commission to visit their plants unless it suits their convenience. In many cases the collection of costs is impossible for the simple reason

that they do not exist. What, for example, is the cost of producing wool as distinguished from mutton, of hides as distinguished from beef, of gasoline as distinguished from kerosene, lubricating oil, and a dozen other petroleum products? Where costs can be ascertained it is found that no two manufacturers manufacture at the same cost, and the problem of selection arises. Shall it be the highest or lowest, the average or marginal that is to be used for determining the duty? Wages and prices of materials are extremely uncertain guides. In the case of twenty-nine sugar centrals in Cuba, all having the same opportunities for obtaining labor and materials, the highest unit cost was more than twice the lowest, with the costs for the other twenty-nine ranging in gradation between. The Commission will probably, in most cases, be reduced, as was the Senate Committee, to the substitution of prices for costs. But while economists recognize "normal prices" as related to costs, market prices, which are the only prices available, bear little or no relation to costs, and it is a question whether the courts will sustain such substitution.

General Effect of the New Law

This article may close with a few comments and criticisms on the act as a whole.

What revenue will it yield? Treasury experts estimate that the revenue from the new act will be about \$400,000,000 per year, as against \$292,369,752 for 1921, the last full year under the combined Underwood-Emergency tariff. Half of this revenue will be derived from four items: Sugar, \$87,000,000; raw wool, \$63,000,000; tobacco, \$35,000,000; laces and embroideries, \$15,000,000.

How do rates of duty compare with those of previous acts? Mr. Joseph S. McCoy, actuary for the Treasury, figures that in actual operation the effective equivalent *ad valorem* will average slightly below those in the Payne-Aldrich Act. The average of the rates as written, however, will be higher. This is because many of the rates are so high that they will bar imports altogether and hence not appear in the average. Under the Payne-Aldrich Act for the years during which it was in operation the average rate on all dutiable articles was 40.7 per cent. and on all articles (free and dutiable) 19.4 per cent. Similar averages for the Underwood Act are 27.2 and 9.2 per cent., respectively, and for the Underwood and

Emergency acts combined, 29.4 and 11.4 per cent., respectively.

The following table shows comparative rates for a few articles:

Article	Act of 1922	Act of 1913	Act of 1909
Bleaching powder.....	3/10c per lb.	1/5c per lb.	1/5c per lb.
Citric acid.....	17c per lb.	5c per lb.	7c per lb.
Dyes.....	For two years, 7c per lb. + 60 per cent.	5 to 30 per cent. Explosives, free	20 and 30 per cent. Explosives free
	American valuation. Thereafter, 7c per lb. +45 per cent., Amer- ican valuation		
Earthenware, plain.....	45 per cent.	35 per cent.	55 and 60 per cent.
Glassware.....	50 to 65 per cent.	45 per cent.	60 per cent.
Iron in pigs.....	75c per ton	Free	\$2.50 per ton
Lumber, including clapboards, laths, and shingles.....	Free (provisionally)	Free	Sliding scale from \$1.25 to \$2.75 per M ft. Clapboards, \$1.25 per M Laths, 20c per M Shingles, 50c per M Free
Potash, crude.....	Free	Free	
Printing paper.....	Free	Free	3/10 and 3/10c per lb. 5/10 and 5/10c per lb.
Newsprint.....	1c per lb. + 10 per cent.	12 per cent.	
Other.....			
Starch.....			
Potato.....	1 3/4c per lb.	1c per lb.	1 1/2c per lb.
Wheat.....	1c per lb.	5/2c per lb.	1c per lb.
Wool blankets valued at not more than 50c per lb.....	18c per lb. + 30 per cent.	25 per cent.	22 and 33c per lb. + 30 and 35 per cent.
Woven wool fabrics weighing not more than 4 oz. per sq. yd. and valued at not more than 80c per lb.	37c per lb. + 50 per cent.	25 to 40 per cent.	33 and 44c per lb. + 50 per cent.

Is it scientific? If by scientific is meant conforming to the teachings of economic science, of course it is not. If, however, it is merely meant that an attempt was made to adjust rates in accordance with a pre-determined principle, that of equalizing costs, it may be conceded that such an attempt was made. As stated above, however, except in a few cases, the comparison was made on the basis of prices, not costs, and the relation between prices and costs is at best tenuous. With the unstable markets of recent years it can hardly be said to exist. There were numerous departures even from the "price-comparison" principle and, of course, in the free list the principle was abandoned altogether.

In regard to the principle itself a word may be said. It is plausible, but if applied with relentless logic, it simply means foregoing all advantage from international trade. The advantage from international trade (as from all trade) comes from the exchanging of an article which you make with little sacrifice of labor and capital for an article which your neighbor makes with little sacrifice of labor and capital but

which would cost you much more labor and capital. To interpose an artificial cost equal to the difference is to neutralize the advantage. The principle never has been,

even in the present act, applied with relentless logic. There is, for example, no duty on tea designed to equalize costs and divert American labor and capital to the tea industry.

Will it be followed by prosperity? Yes; if by prosperity is meant an era of increasing business activity, of diminishing unemployment, of rising prices. Business has been for some months on an up-swing of a business cycle and there is no reason to suppose that the movement will be arrested. It will probably be accelerated. The mere fact that the act is passed, is off the boards, that enterprise is relieved of the palsying effect of twenty months of tariff discussion, will have a stimulating effect. The fact of rising prices in itself stimulates business men to greater activity. Finally, though this is more speculative, the psychologic reaction will probably be favorable to revival. The economic argument is, of course, sound that protection does not in itself increase the sum total of industry. It merely to some extent diverts industry from a more to a less effective channel. But business men, when in a confident and optimi-

mistic frame of mind, can and do increase the sum total of industry. Though the act will bear heavily on the manufacturers who have built up a large export trade and on the commercial classes, depressing their energy and enterprise, it is probable that the psychology of the majority of American business men is protective. They believe that protection will bring good times, therefore the act will inspire them with confidence, stimulate them to greater activity, and this restored confidence and greater activity will bring good times.

Will it be followed by rising prices? Yes; the up-swing of a business cycle is always accompanied by rising prices. It is a period of credit extension bringing increased purchasing power relatively to the quantity of goods produced and this situation means rising prices. The immediate effect of the tariff will be to reduce imports and substitute American-made goods. For a time exports will continue unabated, but the excess exports will attract gold which in turn will raise the general price level here and depress it elsewhere. This process will continue until foreign-made goods, because of their reduced price and the higher American price, can come in in increased volume over the tariff and restore equilibrium. There will be, of course, some direct effect. Certain articles like wool,¹ upon which the duty has been raised, and which, to supply our demand must continue to be imported in large quantities, will advance in price more rapidly than the general trend, but estimates of the "cost to the American people" computed by multiplying the difference between the present and past tariff rate by the quantity consumed may be dismissed. The economic process governing the general level of prices is too intricate to be arrived at in any such off-hand way. In a general way it may be said that the factors to be considered are the quantity of

goods exchanged, the quantity of money and credit, and the rapidity of circulation. The effect of the tariff should be to diminish somewhat the quantity of goods relatively to the quantity of money and credit, and hence raise prices:

Will it have international consequences? Yes; it has already aroused protest and resentment. It will make it more difficult to export to the United States and therefore more difficult for European nations to pay their indebtedness. The actual injury may not be so great as is imagined. As noted above, the act will tend to increase prices in the United States making it possible for European nations to resume trade on the new price level. Moreover, as by the act we surrender some of our export trade an opportunity will be afforded to other nations, especially England, to step in. In this way also they may obtain resources for meeting their American indebtedness. But however much we may minimize the injury, the resentment will remain.

Conclusion. So far as human foresight can penetrate (and it is admitted that unknown and incalculable forces may at any time enter and shatter conclusions based on economic analysis) it seems likely that the framers of the tariff act of 1922 will for a time be in a position to congratulate themselves on their wisdom as evidenced by results. Nevertheless, the act is not one which the economist or, I believe, the farseeing statesman can regard with enthusiasm. It will yield increased revenue, but at unnecessary cost to the public. It will be followed by "prosperity," but prosperity would equally have followed an act conceived in a less narrowly nationalistic spirit. It will tend to national self-sufficiency, but it will breed international ill-will. It provides for domestic resources in the event of a "chemical war" and provides also an irritant to make such a war a little more probable. It can be easily explained; it sprung from obvious causes and developed from them logically enough; it was all very natural, but it is not inspiring.

¹ The duty on raw wool does not differ greatly under the present act from that under the Emergency Act, but the country had a large stock of wool imported free under the Underwood Act and the increase in duty is just now beginning to be felt by the consumer of clothing.



THE TARIFF AND THE COST OF LIVING

BY DAVID FRIDAY

(President of the Michigan Agricultural College)

RAISING the tariff was bound to be ticklish business after the price revolution of the last eight years had carried the cost of living to more than twice the pre-war level and had raised commodities at wholesale to two and one-half times their former cost. Even yet wholesale prices are more than 50 per cent. higher than they were in 1913, and twice as high as they were in the early nineteen-hundreds. The cost of living is one and two-thirds times as high as it was before the war. It is small wonder, therefore, that the framers of the new tariff law are trying to defend themselves against the charge that this new protective measure will raise prices.

The Original Tariff Argument—Increased Prices

The logic which underlay the older tariff legislation was comprehensible to the ordinary mind. The cost of production and the price of many commodities abroad were less than here. Therefore the competition of these commodities was bound to lower the price to the point where American industry was crowded out of the field. Prices must cover at least cost of production if goods are to be made in this country. A duty on imports eliminated the foreigner from competition, or at least subjected him to a special burden of costs such that he could offer his goods here only at a higher price. Under such conditions the American market would be supplied, in part or in whole, by the products of our own industries. The public paid more for the time being. But various advantages accrued to the country. The encouragement afforded by the tariff brought about a diversification of industry and a growth of urban communities. Undoubtedly, the tariff had some effect in attracting capital and even skilled laborers to this country. America in the seventies and the eighties was industrially young and inexperienced. The great

majority of its people were in agriculture and understood not the ways of manufacturing and of international markets. As a new country we had an abundance of resources and of the opportunity which these afforded; but a dearth of capital. Throughout the period following the Civil War we procured a large part of our investment funds by import from England, which was at that time the international source of supply for export capital. Finally, England and the European continent still enjoyed at least a quasi-monopoly of the technical skill which had come with the industrial revolution.

Ultimately, according to the older tariff advocates, the protected industries would develop beyond the infancy stage and would then become so efficient in production that costs here would actually be lower than those abroad. When this time came, prices would be even lower than they would have been had the tariff never been put into effect. When these industries had been thus developed, the tariff might as well be removed, for it would have become useless. Even if it were allowed to remain it would afford no protection, because the American producer had now become so efficient that the foreigner could not compete with him successfully in any event. Now the crux of this argument is that protection is furnished to industry through the effect of tariffs upon prices. Without an increase in prices there could be no protection.

High Rates Following the Civil War

Such was the logic of the protectionists; and it was straightforward and understandable. It "hung together." If America desired a diversified industry and a rapid development of manufactures, it was perfectly proper to lay upon the people a temporary burden by way of increased prices. The same end might be accomplished by

taxation and bounties to the new industries. But it was politically more expedient to do it through import duties, and through the higher prices which these brought about for all units of the commodity consumed, whether they were produced in this country or imported. People resent taxes; but the forces which determine prices are so manifold and obscure and the payment for an article becomes so soon a matter to which people habituate themselves, that the contribution for the support of infant industries is for the most part unconscious.

At that, the high tariff schedules which came into vogue during the sixties and the seventies were not initiated by a mere process of logic. No political party would have dared to legislate the advances in protective duties which came about almost automatically as a result of the Civil War. The Government at that time had adopted an elaborate policy of internal taxation, including taxes on manufactured goods. Since American producers were burdened with these heavy internal taxes, their cost of production was increased and they were put at a disadvantage as compared with foreigners. If American manufacturers were to continue it was necessary, therefore, that they should be protected by a proportionately higher tariff duty. Thus many "compensating" duties, as they were called, were added to the previously prevailing rates. The level thus reached was, in some cases, still further elevated through the efforts of Congressmen who were devoted to the protective principle. In times of war anyone who has a special interest in securing an increase in protection usually finds it easy to obtain it under the pretense of augmenting the revenues.

High Tariff an "Historical Accident"

Under the stress of these circumstances the average rate on dutiable goods rose from a level of about 24 per cent. in the tariff law of 1857 to about 40 per cent. in 1864. During the Civil War no one imagined that the duties called forth by the exhausting drain of the conflict would be permanent. Everyone expected that when the struggle was over the rates would be "revised downward." But such did not prove to be the case. As the years passed the war tariff continued in force with some modifications, but without substantial reduction. The general level of duties to-day is much the same as that which prevailed

toward the close of the Civil War. This is the more surprising in view of the fact that the special internal revenue taxes of the Civil War were practically all abolished within seven years of the close of the conflict. But the compensating tariff duties were not removed.

The high protective tariff policy which has prevailed in this country during the last sixty years was, then, not the result of conscious policy and clear reasoning; but was rather an historical accident which grew out of the fiscal needs of the Civil War. But it always remained a fundamental tenet of protective doctrine that the first effect of a tariff was to increase prices. It is natural, therefore, that the criticism against the Fordney-McCumber Tariff should be levied, first of all, at the fact that it will raise prices and the cost of living at a time when the public, together with government officials, has been going through a drastic campaign to lower prices. Various estimates have been made concerning the probable addition to the cost of living which will result from the passage of this act.

America Has a Surplus of Capital

These computations place the probable burden to the American consumer at about three billion dollars. For the increase in prices will affect not only the imported goods, but those produced in this country as well. If these figures are true, the Fordney-McCumber tariff, together with any party which tries to defend it, will be doomed. Our situation is no longer comparable to that which prevailed in the quarter-century following the Civil War. It is utter nonsense to talk of the necessity and desirability of attracting capital to this country. America is the chief source of supply for international capital to-day, and will remain so for at least a decade to come. It is Europe which has a scarcity of capital. The American investor will for some years yet venture his capital in enterprise at home much more readily and cheaply than he will loan it abroad. Even since the close of the war we have exported more than two billion dollars of capital to Europe each year.

We Are Now an Industrial Nation

Nor are we any longer a predominantly agricultural nation. We have to-day slightly over forty million people who are engaged in gainful occupations. Of these only

10,600,000 are in agriculture. In normal times more than that number are engaged in manufactures alone. The total wage payments of industries other than agriculture will amount to more than thirty billion dollars this year; the net income of people engaged in farming, including the wages of the laborers, will not exceed eight billion. In short, we are no longer a nation unskilled and inexperienced in industrial matters. Whatever advantage England and the continent of Europe may have had no longer exists.

The war demonstrated the industrial power of America. The profits reported by manufacturing corporations alone in the five years 1916-1920, after deducting interest, all deficits and losses; and all payments of taxes, amounted to the astounding sum of sixteen and one-third billion dollars, or three and one-quarter billion dollars per year. Even if we include the years 1921 and 1922, with their declining prices, shrinking inventories, and decreased profits, the average amount available for dividends and surplus will be nearly \$3,000,000,000 per year for the seven years 1916-1922, inclusive. This amounts to more than 12 per cent. upon all their common and preferred stock outstanding in 1922. The average annual earnings of American manufactures in the years preceding 1913 were less than half this amount.

Can Industry Be Helped Without Raising Prices?

In such a situation the American public will resent any legislation which benefits these concerns by raising prices which the consumer must pay. Quite naturally, therefore, the authors of the Fordney-McCumber bill, as well as the high protectionist spokesmen generally, are protesting vigorously that the tariff does not raise prices. This attitude is so entirely at variance with the traditional protectionist reasoning that their arguments are worth reviewing. On the face of it, it seems perfectly clear that no industry can receive any benefit from a protective tariff unless its prices are affected.

Mr. Fordney asserts roundly that "there is not the slightest necessity that this bill should, to any considerable extent, increase the cost to the American consumer." He denies that the new law will cost the American people three billion dollars per year.

According to the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee the bill is not aimed to raise prices to the consumer; although it will raise them for the importer. Mr. Fordney's notion is that "this bill simply calculates to divert at least a small part of those profits from the foreigner and his representative in this country to the United States." He exclaims rhetorically: "Why should not the American people, already overburdened with taxes, require that the foreigner's profits contribute more thereto? This act reaches out to gather in more of the foreigner's outrageous profits in reduction of the taxes of our people." There is more of like tenor. In effect this is not an act of protection at all in Mr. Fordney's mind, one would gather; but rather an extension of the taxing power of the United States to those who are beyond our political jurisdiction.

Profiteering in Foreign Goods

He cites some facts, too, to support his contention that "Foreign goods are selling in our markets at a profit of from 100 to several thousand per cent." The Treasury Department and the Senate Finance Committee undertook a joint investigation into the foreign values of imported merchandise and the retail selling price of this imported merchandise to the American consumer. They found that the landed cost, including the value in the country of origin, the charges for transportation, insurance, and freight, and the duty under the old tariff law, amounted, for ladies' kid gloves of a certain type, to \$1.21, while the retail price here was \$6.95. That table knives from Germany whose landed cost was less than 4 cents retailed here at 30 cents. Glass lamp domes from Czechoslovakia costing 46 cents landed retailed at \$1.74. An electrical flat-iron from Germany cost 77 cents and retailed at \$6.50. Silk bloomers and chemise from Belgium (one set) costing \$28.46, retailed at \$90; and a cuckoo clock from Germany costing \$1.70 retailed at \$22. A wire bird-cage from Germany cost \$1.74 and retailed at \$11, while cod liver oil from Norway cost six and two-thirds cents a pint and retailed at \$1.25. In view of these prices Mr. Fordney says that whoever advances prices "will be a profiteer pure and simple." He has a method, too, for dealing with those who raise prices after the tariff is passed. "Any such unjustifiable act should be met not by a

repeal of this American measure, but by stringent laws making profiteering a crime and misrepresentation of the tariff increment in sale prices punishable as obtaining money under false pretenses." And this man was the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee when the Excess Profits Tax was abolished as an "intolerable burden upon American business!"

But his figures do shake one's faith as to the alleged effect of the tariff upon prices, especially the prices of these articles which he mentions. They do not, it is true, include any woolen goods, or sugar, or any of the commodities that enter in an important way into the cost of living of the great mass of people. One is a little puzzled, too, to see just how the tariff which has been levied upon these articles mentioned will prevent them from being imported and dumped upon the American market. But the figures do show why it is difficult to prove beyond question that the tariff raises prices. To make the confusion worse, the National Retail Drygoods Association has questioned the accuracy of the evidence put out by the Senate Finance Committee and the Treasury.

The Law of Supply and Demand

But there are those who do not base their assertion that the tariff will not raise prices upon any such fortuitous evidence as was discovered by these investigators last June at a time when exchange rates were falling precipitately and when international trade was in a state of dishevelment. They do not resort to the rough and ready method of saying that there will be no increase in prices; and that if there is the persons who receive them are profiteers. These more sophisticated theorists have a complete logical sequence of cause and effect. Beginning with an increase in the tariff they arrive at lower prices for the protected product as inevitably as Adam Smith and David Ricardo arrived at higher prices. The argument runs as follows. "An adequate protective tariff increases domestic production. Increased production creates competition. Increased competition lowers prices." It seems to make no difference that one of the competitors, the foreigner, is laid under a special burden. These economic experts are continually affirming that prices are not determined by tariffs, but by demand and supply. Undoubtedly they are right; but it is the sheerest folly

to proceed with an argument which ignores the fact that one of the new conditions under which the supply comes to market is the imposition of a higher import duty.

This logical exposition of price determination is usually supplemented by historical facts. Its spokesmen insist "that an adequate protective tariff, by establishing competitive industry, eventually results in lower prices is a truth written all through the pages of American history. The steel-rail and tin-plate industries are the most monumental examples, but we challenge anyone to point out a single exception, when the industry thus created has had time to become fully established." Confronted by such a mass of conflicting evidence and of sophistry, the public will naturally be in confusion. One could even argue that if, in any particular case, the price of a protected article has not fallen, that is simply evidence that the industry has not yet "become fully established." This in turn is evidence that the tariff needs to be continued. There is no gainsaying such an argument.

Relative Rise or Fall in Price

The fact that the price of an article falls within this country after the imposition of a duty upon it does not, however, furnish proof that the tariff has reduced prices. This sort of argument has been presented time and again in hearings before congressional committees during the last thirty-five years. Such evidence is mostly beside the point. Neither does the fact that the price rises during the time that a tariff is in force prove conclusively that the tariff has raised prices. The question is whether the price here falls or rises relatively to the price in the country from which the imports are brought. If the prices here and abroad rise together or fall together nothing is shown. If prices here rise more than they do abroad, or fall less, then it is fair to assume that the tariff has raised prices. If the tariff has been in force for some time so that the industry has been developed until it has become fully established, prices here may rise less than abroad, or fall more. In such cases it is a fair conclusion that the tariff has, in the long run, reduced prices.

Difficulty of Tracing Effects on Prices

All of this shows the exceeding difficulty of making a conclusive proof concerning the effect of the tariff upon prices in a

specific case. There are so many forces affecting the general movement of prices of all commodities that the resultants of any particular cause, like the tariff, are difficult to trace in the confusing stream of cross currents. For any single commodity, too, new discoveries of natural resources, or new inventions which are used in extraction or manufacture may so modify the conditions of cost under which the commodity is brought to market that it is impossible to trace the consequences of tariff legislation in the movement of prices with any accuracy. Surely, it will never be possible in such an instance to produce evidence which shall convince a man against his will. It is utterly impossible to tell what the effect of the reductions provided by the Underwood Tariff was upon the course of prices from 1914 through 1920. The next half-decade is likely to see varied and confusing price changes.

Tariff No Protection to the Farmer

In the absence of proof of causal interdependence through the matching of tariffs and price changes, people will resort to logic and common sense. They will conclude that no tariff can protect our industry without raising prices. Either the promise of protection is a fraud, or else prices must rise, at least temporarily. The estimate that the new tariff schedule will cost the consumer three billion dollars annually is no doubt too high. But it is too high only because a very large part of the promised protection is sheer fraud. Aside from wool, sugar, lemons, and beans, the bulk of the duties on agricultural products fail entirely to give the farmer any protection. Consider the asininity of a tax of one-half cent a pound upon tomatoes, of thirty cents a bushel upon wheat, and of fifteen cents a bushel upon corn. During the last twenty years we have exported, on the average, more than 22 per cent. of the wheat produced in this country; while during the last seven years the exports have amounted to 28 per cent. of our production. It is the sheerest stupidity to believe that such import duties really protect the wheat industry of this country. No tariff can increase the price of commodities where we export a surplus which must be sold upon a competitive international market. If the price of wheat and corn rises while the present tariff is in force, the advance must be ascribed to the general factors which will dominate

the world supply and demand of these products. Certainly any one charged with the duty of increasing the well-being of our agricultural producers must be incompetent indeed if he expects any relief for the agricultural situation from a tariff upon commodities which are exported in considerable volume.

Certain Commodities Have "Real Protection"

The same is true broadly of all those industries which produce a surplus for export. It holds likewise for those whose cost is below the cost abroad, or where it exceeds it by less than freight rates, other charges and the minimum profit to the importer. But there are other commodities which doubtless receive real protection. Sugar, wool, beans, woolen manufactures, silks, laces, toys—these are all commodities in which the protection afforded is real. The same is true of chemicals other than essential oils. In the cases of all these commodities the industries which produce them will gain their protection through the higher prices which the consumer will pay.

A perusal of the trade papers will quickly convince most people that the tariff does raise a considerable number of prices. Although the tariff law is only a few weeks old, chemicals and drugs, with the exception of the "essential oils," have already advanced materially. These commodities are highly protected. The essential oils are not protected; neither have they advanced in price. On the other hand they have fallen about as much as the other chemicals have risen. Sugar has advanced more than twenty-five points; woolens have likewise gone up. What the total amount of these advances will take from the pocket of the American consumer is almost impossible to determine. It is doubtful whether it will be as much as half of three billion dollars.

A teacher of political economy whom the writer knew was asked by a student in lecture one day whether he was opposed to a high protective tariff. His answer was that he believed no tariff, no matter how high, could materially injure the industry of this nation. It was a clever remark, full of penetration and wisdom. The addition to the cost of living which will be occasioned by the Fordney-McCumber tariff will not materially injure the American people, even though it places a disproportionate burden upon the less well-to-do.

MR. PAGE AND HIS LETTERS FROM LONDON

IT is much too soon to pronounce judgment in the historical sense upon the public work of individuals who were in places of political influence during the war period. The emphasis of each recurring phase of our amazing adventures under the leadership of President Wilson was so compelling, in its grasp upon the attention of the country, that very few people have even yet recovered a sufficient degree of detachment to see things in their relation to one another. Mr. Wilson had become President with little experience in political affairs and with even less acquaintance with public men. His selection of a Cabinet and of men for diplomatic and other posts was more personal than partisan. Among the limited number of those supporters upon whom he had come to rely for their qualities of sincerity and loyalty as well as for their intelligence and courage, was Walter H. Page.

Mr. Wilson had fully determined to put Page into his Cabinet. This capable and charming member of the editing and publishing profession was a partner of Mr. Doubleday in the firm of Doubleday, Page & Company, and was the editor of *World's Work*. He was a scion of well-known North Carolina and Virginia families, and educated in the institutions of those two States and of Maryland. His aptitudes were those of a classical scholar, and he was devoted to English literature. A certain restless energy, however, impelled him while still in the early twenties to go West and take up journalistic work. After varied experiences in Missouri, North Carolina, and elsewhere, as a newspaper man, he came to New York and soon became associated with the publication of an influential monthly periodical; and afterwards for several years he was Editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Later, joining fortunes with Mr. Doubleday, he was happy and successful in his associations, and carried on his work not only with ability, but with that habit of independence and of self-guidance which nothing could have induced him to abandon. He could not possibly have been a partisan, subject to orders,

nor could he have done his work under any curtailment of his freedom to express his convictions.

Although Walter Page's mature life had been spent chiefly in New York, and in a kind of work that gave him a broadly national outlook, he was devoted to his native State of North Carolina. For many years he was a valuable member of educational boards working for Southern progress. In spite of occasional criticism from people of his own class in the South, he was always the steadfast friend and helper of those who were working by wise methods for the educational and economic advancement of the negro race. Page's early newspaper experiences in the South had made him acquainted with Woodrow Wilson during those brief months when Wilson had tried to practice law at Atlanta, Georgia. This was in the year 1882, or early in 1883. Discriminating magazine editors like Page were not likely to lose touch with a writer and personage of such note and distinction as Woodrow Wilson. When, after 1910, Mr. Wilson had become an outstanding asset of the Democratic party, Walter Page behind the scenes was one of his most valued advisers.

It was well known to some of those who were friends of Page, including the Editor of this REVIEW, that Wilson intended to have Page in the Cabinet, either as Secretary of the Interior or as Secretary of Agriculture. The appointment of the late Franklin K. Lane as Secretary of the Interior was with Page's hearty approval, and the appointment of David F. Houston as Secretary of Agriculture was upon Page's urgent recommendation. Dr. Houston had been a life-long friend of Walter Page, had been President of the Agricultural College of Texas and of two universities, and possessed the highest qualifications for a Cabinet post. The President had offered the British Ambassadorship to President Eliot of Harvard, who had declined it; and finally Mr. Wilson decided that Page must go to London.

It was at a personal sacrifice that he gave up his work at home, relinquishing an

exceptional opportunity to help the President unofficially, and went to London. If he had kept out of office, he would probably have shared with Colonel House the responsibilities that fell upon that patient, courteous, and unselfish gentleman who gave himself so completely to the service of the brilliant but detached executive in the White House. As matters stood, however, it would seem that Colonel House never ceased to rely greatly upon Walter Page, and to keep in much closer touch with our Ambassador at London than he was able to keep with his Chief at Washington.

So much for the circumstances under which Page became the representative of the United States at the most influential of the world's political centers, in the most critical period of the world's modern history. Mr. Page had neither the money nor the kind of ambition to seek success by elaborate efforts in the social field. But success came to him in full measure, and in every sense, because of his genuineness as an American of the best type, his cultivated brains, and his standards as a gentleman.

With these remarks about the man, we have not yet said a word about the two large volumes which have now issued from the press of Doubleday, Page & Company, entitled, "The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page."¹

This veteran editor and hard-working Ambassador had not been a writer of books. He had induced many other people to write, and a constant thesis of his had been the need of training Americans to write good English. If he had chosen to make his career as a writer rather than as an editor he would possibly have become our foremost essayist. But his exceptional gifts as a writer found their chief vent in his editorial and personal correspondence.

Many readers have found themselves delighted with the exuberance as well as the



AMBASSADOR PAGE IN HIS OFFICE

charm of Page's letters as many of them have recently appeared in the *World's Work*. The two fine volumes which give us occasion for these comments are filled mostly with letters written from London during the five years of Page's life and work as Ambassador. A certain number of them are letters to Woodrow Wilson, a much larger number are addressed to Colonel House, many of them are sent to his sons, and a lesser number are addressed to Mr. Doubleday, Secretary Houston, President Alderman, and other friends.

If these letters had been allowed to perish, or had been withheld from publication, Mr. Page would have been remembered in our annals as the Ambassador at London during the war period; but he would not have had a place in American literature. That these letters as collected by Mr. Burton J. Hendrick entitle Walter Page to a high and permanent place among our men of letters there can be no doubt whatsoever. Mr. Hendrick has opened the volumes with a sketch of the life and career of Page, and has carried through the entire work his own story of the political and diplomatic conditions under which the letters were written. If in certain details Mr. Hendrick's contributions to biography and history are not quite accurate, they are upon the whole exceedingly intelligent, and very helpful to the reader.

There is an irresistible fascination about these letters which is due in high measure to

¹ "The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page." By Burton J. Hendrick. Doubleday, Page & Company. Vol. II, 436 pp. Vol. II, 437 pp.

their literary excellence, but is also due to the freedom of expression that is possible when a tired and harassed Ambassador indulges himself—alone at night—in the full luxury of saying exactly what he would like to say to his most intimate friends in conversation about the occurrences of the day or about the people with whom he has been in contact. How various aspects of English life and society impressed themselves upon Mr. Page is shown in these letters not merely with frankness but with a discriminating skill in description and judgment that lift them far above the ephemeral. There is hardly anything else with which to compare them except the letters of members of the Adams family written at several different periods in our diplomatic history.

All that we have said in praise of these letters is quite apart from issues of a controversial kind that are raised by Page's sweeping attacks upon the State Department, first under Secretary Bryan, and afterwards under Secretary Lansing. Of necessity, President Wilson is an omnipresent figure in the great international story that moves connectedly through these volumes. Walter Page had a lofty vision. He kept his mind upon the main considerations. He hated needless delay and abominated legal technicalities. He loathed cranks and sentimentalists. He glories in the solid qualities of the English character. He believed the world had got to be held steady for a long time to come by the combined wisdom and firmness of the American and British peoples. He was sure that America ought to take the leading place, and that this could be done if we had sense enough to be courteous and intelligent in our dealings with other nations.

Mr. Page soon realized that he had lost influence with President Wilson and the Administration. He was regarded as too passionately pro-British. Woodrow Wilson ceased to be his political idol. But his belief in the immense superiority of American democracy grew stronger with all his observation of British and foreign conditions.

We have already explained that the letters published in these volumes pertain for the most part to Anglo-American relations in the period preceding our declaration of war against Germany. Mr. Page labored earnestly in his first year at London to persuade his friend Sir Edward Grey, then British Minister of Foreign Affairs, to accept the leadership of President Wilson in

diplomatic dealings with Mexico. Page at that time had unlimited faith in Wilson, although it became increasingly difficult for him to explain a Mexican policy that no one at home or abroad has ever yet been able to comprehend. Into the controversy over the Panama tolls, Mr. Page threw himself with an emotional intensity that was characteristic of him when he believed that the issue was a simple one of right and wrong.

He thought that the American contention, as presented by President Taft and Secretary Knox, had been technical and unworthy; and he never perceived that there were Americans who considered the English case not only as technical but as based upon a total misunderstanding of some essential facts. His bitter assaults upon the State Department and upon lawyers in public places were at times due to his confidence in what seemed to him a clear point of view, which he had espoused without having formed the habit of studying the historical background of pending problems with sufficient thoroughness.

Where so much illuminating material is presented as Mr. Hendrick has offered us in these volumes, it might seem superfluous to express any regrets. It is obvious, however, that Mr. Hendrick did not have access to the most important file of the Ambassador's letters. We are thankful for the many that were addressed to Colonel House; but it is not unknown that there is in existence a long series of letters that was not made available for the editor of these volumes. It was of course wholly permissible for Mr. Wilson to decide that the confidential letters written to him in great numbers by the man whom he had sent to the Court of St. James's ought not to be included in the present compilation. It is to be hoped that Mr. Wilson may arrange for the preservation of these, and for their publication at some future time.

One finds passages in some of these letters that Page himself would not have wished to see printed. He was courteous, and had no pleasure in hurting any man's feelings. After all, his criticisms were wholly from the standpoint of public policy, and they were never meant to be harsh or malicious from the personal or private standpoint. From beginning to end, the Page letters reveal a generous nature and a broad faith. They will long exert a powerful influence in favor of Anglo-American good-will and coöperation.

A. S.

WU TING-FANG AND A REUNITED CHINA

BY GRAHAM TAYLOR

CANTON-PEKING, the positive and negative poles of old China's newly electrified life, seem about to make connections again after being short-circuited so badly as to start the flames of war here and there ever since the break came with the revolution against the Manchu dynasty eleven years ago.

The camp fires illuminate the situation far more clearly than the firing on the battle fronts and the torches of the incendiary soldiery, because the figures of the leaders and their groups stand out from the dark in the firelight, and the actual warfare has been between individuals on personal issues far more than between conflicting ideals and causes. In fact all the war lords claim to have fought one another in loyalty to the same end—the unification of China.

The situation has been interpretable, therefore, only as the *dramatis persona* have appealed to the interpreters as winners or losers. And so far the race has not been to the "swift," nor the battle to the "strong," whom the "wise" have proclaimed to be such. Fortunate were we who received our first impressions of the strange struggle from the group considered the weakest, and, at Canton, ignored or despised alike by the Chinese reactionaries and by the blasé cynics in the foreign concessions at the treaty-ports as merely the "show window" for fanatical idealists or

self-seeking radicals. Some such there were, but in the lead were men of strong character, far-sighted vision, and purpose-possessed personality, representing a like constituency wide-spread throughout China, though as yet centered sufficiently to bring things to pass only in Canton and its province.

Hither had fled the revolutionists against the Manchu rule when their republic was betrayed and its parliament was dissolved at Peking. Here rallied the leaders of those who dared rebel against military dictators and the reassertion of their supremacy over civil authority, those who took their stand for constitutional government in starting the Republic of China over again at Canton, and in establishing there the first municipal administration distinct from that of the province.

Here, oldest, wisest, most experienced and deeply venerated of all, was Wu Ting-fang. As scholar he was trained in the old Chinese classical learning and traditions and at London in the law of the Western world. As diplomat he gained world-wide experience in the United States, Europe, South America and Japan. As patriot in private life and in public office, both under the Monarchy and the Republic, he earned the respect and confidence of all classes of his countrymen. As no other statesman, he "proved his ability to grasp,



THE LATE WU TING-FANG
(Scholar, diplomat, statesman, and patriot)



DR. SUN YAT-SEN

(Who collaborated with Wu Ting-fang in reestablishing Constitutional government in China, with headquarters at Canton)

absorb and apply the principles of China's ancient civilization and those of the modern world." Such is the judgment of the leading American editor in the Orient. And in the opinion of the foremost British journalist there, "he contributed more than any Chinese, living or dead, to make for foreign understanding of and friendship for China, and died with the cries of the whole country ringing in his ears for his return to the premiership at Peking."

In appearance, as he entered his State Department office for our interview last April, he was tall and slender, alert in movement, animated and amiable in manner, quaintly wise and witty in conversation, strangely combining concentration upon the present with penetrating vision into the far-away past and the evolving future—a personality both impressive and winsome, a man of the whole world yet a son of his own people, a seer with insight to his own times and outlook upon all others.

Mirthfully mindful of amenities, he inquired after "half-civilized America" before he would respond to questions concerning China. Giving generous credit for the calling and the achievement of the disarmament conference, he facetiously held its great mistake to have been "in not in-

viting me, although I wrote Secretary Hughes suggesting that he do so." Then he gravely added: "The recognition of Peking's corrupt administration by the foreign governments is its last support, and the only impediment to the unification of China." In responding to the speech of the American Minister at a great public meeting in Canton, Dr. Wu aroused great laughter and applause by giving Dr. Schurman the parting assurance: "We will meet again soon—in Peking."

None knew then how prophetic his wit was. Prior to the revolution he had been overruled to become premier of the Manchu cabinet. He answered soon thereafter by advising the Prince Regent to abdicate, and later by becoming premier of the Republic. Resigning when Parliament was dissolved, he joined Sun Yat-sen in reestablishing Constitutional government under the Republic they set up at Canton, which he served as Secretary of State and premier. While still in this service, Peking's provisional government recalled Dr. Wu to its premiership, and at the hand of the very man whose dissolution of parliament had driven the old statesman from office five years before.

Himself recalled to the presidency, after the overthrow of the administration most inimical to Canton and antagonistic to its ideals, Li Yuan-hung, on resuming office temporarily until the old Parliament could be reconvened and elect his successor, made amends to the patriots in the South by urging their premier to head the cabinet of reunited China. Before so doing he thus publicly stated his misgivings in view of his acknowledged error: "I think that I, Yuan-hung, have committed a grievous sin toward Parliament. Fearing at the time that Peking and vicinity would be covered with bloodshed, I dissolved Parliament and consented to a new election in order to save the country. Having dissolved Parliament in order to save temporary distress, I express my gratefulness to its members, apologizing on the ground that the situation was unique. Because of my part in this I can hardly claim further to act as President. I tell my countrymen my own guilt which I cannot repudiate, but the members of Parliament have been so kind as to ask me again to act. Is my heart not shamed? Still all sides press me to assist the reunion of China. A man is not made of stone or wood—how can I escape from being

moved?" (From the Manifesto of General Li Yuan-hung to all officials in Peking, Canton and in the Provinces on accepting the presidency, June 6, 1922.)

If anything were lacking fully to vindicate the Canton leaders and assure the adherence of the Peking government to their ideals of a constitutional republic, it was spontaneously offered by the victorious General Wu Pei-fu, then and now in supreme military command. Addressed to Sun Yat-sen, the General's telegram reads, in part, thus:

You and other heroes in the South, championing the cause in defense of the Constitution, must be rejoicing at the successful culmination of your noble work. Now the situation has been made clear and we may say that a new national foundation is being laid. The whole nation is agitating for the restoration of Parliament, and this is being accomplished. Hsu Shih-chang has retired in deference to public opinion. Ex-President Li Yuan-hung has resumed office and revoked his former order dissolving the Parliament. It is clear that work in defense of the Constitution should now be halted, as the purpose has been answered. Let us be united in heart and in purpose and attend to constructive work together. The country will undoubtedly laud your virtue, and current rumors will evaporate like passing clouds. If you will please proceed to the North, I shall "fumigate and bathe my body thrice," to prepare for your arrival.

This overture is the more noteworthy since the Southern president was then leading a military "expedition" against the North, in alliance with the Mukden warlord whom General Wu Pei-fu had defeated.

It was at this very moment when the triumph of the defenders of the Constitution lacked only the assent of their President to the overtures from Peking that one and all of them were overtaken by a calamity which was as overwhelming as it was unexpected. The governor of the province who had been closely associated with the Southern Republic and the progressive movements at Canton, losing patience and hope at Sun Yat-sen's persistence in beligerently withholding the alliance of the South with the conciliatory North, sprung a military *coup d'état*. At midnight his soldiers took possession of all the offices of the national and municipal governments at Canton, destroyed the records of each, except that of the revered Dr. Wu Ting-fang, put all the officials to flight, and declared their functions ended.

Although two months before the venerable Dr. Wu had said to the writer that he had no fear of death, remarking with child-like simplicity: "When God wants me to come, I am ready to say 'Thank you, I go,'" yet it must have been hard to heed the summons when it came. Tragic was the old patriot-statesman's figure in exchanging his toga for the mantle of the prophet and seer. When with his colleagues he was obliged to flee from Canton, and took refuge across the river, he found himself failing to resist the shock and exposure of this violent experience. Then he prepared for the rapidly approaching end with all his philosophical equanimity and loyalty to his comrades and their great cause. Securing his seal of office, he returned it with his resignation to his deposed chief. Removed at his own request to the Mission hospital, he arranged for his Christian burial service at the Anglican church, whose rite of baptism he had received at Hong Kong in early manhood, although in later life he had accepted theosophy, "as not inconsistent with Christianity," as he had said.



GENERAL WU PEI-FU

(In supreme military command throughout China)

Such was the order and dignity of his going as he passed out between what must have seemed to be the portals of either death or life, dissolution or re-birth, to his country's great cause. Never had its wavering balance trembled between fear and hope more than when in his death-stricken hand he held the recall to be the Premier of re-



LI YUAN-HUNG, PRESIDENT OF CHINA

united China at Peking. Why he had neither declined nor accepted it, was known only to himself. It would have been in line with his life-long mediatorship in loyally promoting the self-government of China to hold this offer in abeyance until assured that it was tendered in good faith to that end, and until he might "save the face" of his friend and comrade, Sun Yat-sen, by persuading him to come along with former and new associates in the hopeful effort to reunite South and North at Peking.

Color, at least, is given to this surmise of the old patriot's last motive by the subsequent change in the younger patriot's attitude and action. From bombarding the water-front "Bund" of the friendly City of Canton to attack the Governor's troops there; from his defiantly irreconcilable spirit while anchored in midstream on his gun-boat, Sun Yat-sen suddenly turned. Home to his family residence in Shanghai he went, to open it to all comers. And no sooner was Dr. Sun his old open-hearted, whole-souled patriot self again than there came personal representatives of the Peking President and Cabinet, of the reconvening Parliament and the provincial governors, of the victorious General Wu Pei-fu and the defeated Manchurian war-lord and former bandit, Chang Tso-lin, all seeking the Southern leader's counsel and co-operation. Back to Peking he advised one hundred Southern members

of the old Parliament to go and take their seats again. With them he sent two personal representatives to confer with President Li Yuan-hung, evidently opening the way for a personal reconciliation to follow. At last advices he was waiting to "proceed to Peking when circumstances and negotiations warrant, not seeking any partisan alliances or to enter any combine with one or more groups or parties against others, emphasizing his single aim to effect a general readjustment and settlement, a real reunification of the country and the restoration of a real peace."

So the soul of Wu Ting-fang goes marching on in the spirit of those he inspired to love and serve their country as they do their family, and their whole country even more than their village, their city or their province. Between such as they and a reunited prosperous China stand formidable, perhaps temporarily triumphant, foes—ruthlessly self-seeking "Tuchun" war-lords who enlist the poverty stricken to impoverish their fellow citizens, spoilsmeen who empty the public treasures and "squeeze" private industries, and a prevailing public sentiment loyal only to family and village and apathetically indifferent to any centralized National administration of all China. For China is yet as it always has been, an aggregation of local democracies, never at heart a monarchy, and not yet consciously one Republic.

"The hope of this country," said Frank Lee, Coadjutor of Premier Wu, as Secretary of State for Canton's province, "is that China has a soul. It knows that material resources are no adequate basis for real national progress. Although as yet it has no national religion, there is a fundamental spirituality in China and there are standards of morality that will yet assert their supremacy. China cannot be helped from without. The Washington Conference may prove helpful, ultimately more than immediately. Foreign capital is needed to develop natural resources and will be protected, but it will not be accepted in exchange for China's rights."

So also young educated China's hope is in the renaissance of Chinese culture, aided, but not superseded, by Western civilization. So, too, Chinese Christians unite to affirm their faith and hope in a "naturalized Gospel" and a "Christianity indigenous to China." Thus old China may renew its youth while conserving an age all its own.

CHINESE AGRICULTURE

BY KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

(President, Massachusetts Agricultural College; Member, China Educational Commission, 1921-22)

ALMOST every foot of land is made to contribute material for food, fuel or fabric. Everything which can be made edible serves as food for man or domestic animals. Whatever cannot be eaten or worn is used for fuel. The wastes of the body, of fuel and of fabric worn beyond other use are taken back to the field; before doing so they are housed against waste from weather, compounded with intelligence and forethought and patiently labored with through one, three or even six months, to bring them into the most efficient form to serve as manure for the soil or as feed for the crop.

THESSE words are taken from the introduction to a book which, while it came from the press some fifteen years ago, is still an authority on Oriental agriculture. Professor King of the University of Wisconsin, scientist and student of fundamental problems concerning the soil, a man of wide interests, a keen observer, traveled in the Orient. "Farmers of Forty Centuries" was published after the author's death. It is a mine of information concerning the farm practice of China particularly. It is also an intensely interesting document for anyone who has the slightest zest in growing things from the soil and who likes to go, in imagination at least, outside of his own garden.

Professor King has paid a deserved tribute to the skill, the toil, and the thrift of the Chinese farmer—and well he may. It is almost platitude to reiterate the statements that China is the oldest existing civilization with a continuous history; that for four thousand years she has continued her life through all vicissitudes; that to-day she is the most populous country in the world, with perhaps a fourth of the world's population; and, finally, that she is fully as vigorous and virile as ever before in her long experience. There are many reasons for this remarkable situation, but one not usually mentioned is certainly fundamental, namely, this same skill and thrift and severe toil of the Chinese farmers (who constitute not less than four-fifths of her enormous population), which have resulted in maintaining sufficient soil fertility to

make China practically self-sufficing in regard to her food requirements.

But, like every other book about China, this book of Professor King's tells only a part of the story. Chinese life is so complex that it seems to be constantly contradictory and even paradoxical. As a matter of fact, while the Chinese farmers are at the best very skillful, Chinese agriculture to-day is a mess, and a foreigner might be tempted to say a mess, of problems. For example, fundamentally the Chinese have no science. Their acts are governed by long experience, but often instigated by pure superstition. In the field of agriculture, for example, they have done little for the improvement of varieties or for building up the soil. They are absolutely helpless in the face of insect pests and plant diseases. And then, there are certain large questions that have become so common with them as hardly to be thought of as problems and yet, to a Western observer, they are crucial with respect to China's future development.

Perils of Famine and Flood

One of these is the famine question. It is a constantly recurring issue. Apparently the famines are becoming more frequent and more serious. The two main causes of famine are floods in Central China and drought in North China. But floods in turn are due to the denuding of the forests of their growth, to the great amount of silt washed down the rivers, to the lack of levees and flood reservoirs and to the immense areas of flat delta land easily flooded. Drought, of course, can be met only by better methods of cultivation, by irrigation, or by growing drought-resisting varieties of plants.

Then there is the question of what might be called the lack of surplus. The farmers live from hand to mouth. They store up very little either in the way of surplus food or of surplus capital. They have almost nothing of what the thrifty Western farmer would call savings. The situation is bad

enough in normal times, and keeps them constantly on the margin of a precarious standard of living. But when the floods come and their houses, built not only on shifting soil but out of mud, are washed away in the flood, the situation becomes terribly acute. A year ago in one rather small district in the province of Shantung, in an area flooded from the Yellow River, over six thousand farm hamlets were completely wiped out! There are no facilities for savings. There are no storages for surplus grain. There are no banks utilized by the common people.

There are surprisingly large areas of land not yet in use for agriculture. Some of these areas and often the richest are the sites of the graves of ancestors. Some land is idle because it is not properly forested, some because it is not properly drained, some because it has not yet been irrigated. There is a great sweep of country in the north and west of China where they can grow wheat as well as in the Dakotas and stock as well as in Wyoming and that can be colonized by millions of people.

Problems of the Chinese Farmer

From our point of view there are many rural economic problems on the verge of emerging into great significance, especially as soon as an extended scheme of steam railways is developed; such, for example, as credit and co-operative buying and selling.

Of course the question of education is a tremendous one in rural China. Here are 300,000,000 people living in perhaps a hundred thousand farm villages and a million hamlets, practically all of them illiterate, with inadequate schools, with a poor tax system for the support of schools, and with almost no agricultural knowledge or education.

And so one could go on and take page after page in merely outlining the various problems that are in sight. It must be remembered that when we speak of "problems" we are thinking in terms of Western experience and Western ideas of progress. To the average working Chinese farmer most of these questions are not problems. Many phases of the situation that exists he accepts as a part of the scheme of things.

It must not be supposed that nothing is being done to meet these difficulties. It must be confessed that, considering the questions involved, what has been attempted

seems like a very slight beginning; but China has a number of agricultural schools and colleges. Many of her leading citizens, especially those trained in the West, are fully cognizant of things that need to be done. Certain reforms like those connected with reforestation, building of levees and other aspects of famine relief, while they can to some extent be handled by provincial governments, await to a large degree the inauguration of a central government that is competent, honest and reasonably well financed.

Quite a start has been made by missionary forces in agricultural education; at least thirty agricultural missionaries are now in China. The agricultural department of the Canton Christian College and the agricultural college of the University of Nanking have both been doing extremely good work in research as well as in training of students. Contributions have already been made to the silk industry, and within a few years surprising results in the breeding of better strains of cotton have been achieved. The University of Peking is also starting collegiate work. There has just been held an All-China agricultural convention, and this promises to be an annual affair with a continuous attempt to assist in working out the details of an All-China program of rural reconstruction.

America's Concern

Are any of these matters of interest to America? Well, they are of great significance at least. What is to become of this great Chinese population? Is it to be a factor in the industrial life of the world? What is its political future? Can China continue to feed a growing population? What has she to offer in the way of soil-grown products that she can grow better than other countries can grow them? An American who knows something about the matter has predicted that in a generation China will supplant the United States as the world's cotton-growing center. Importation of meat from China, while not tremendously large, has increased by a vast percentage in the last five years. The soy bean, with its many uses, is largely increasing in production both in North China and Korea. China must feed an increasing population which will soon demand higher standards of living; she may become a huge industrial and agricultural competitor of the West.



MINNESOTA SERVICE MEN CLEARING "CUT-OVER" LAND IN THE AGRICULTURAL COLONY AT VETERANNSVILLE

(Joseph Amundson, the young man in the center of the picture, saw five months' service in France with the Ninth Infantry, Second Division. He fought at Champagne and St. Mihiel, and was shot through the arm. Since last May he has been working—with thirty-seven other soldier-students at the State University's School of Agriculture—to establish and develop a new agricultural community for ex-soldiers, with State aid)

MAKING FARMERS OF EX-SOLDIERS

BY JOHN S. McLAIN

HAPPY the man whose wish and care
A few paternal acres bound,
Content to breathe his native air
In his own ground"

was written by one who never heard of a rehabilitated soldier, but his lines are brought to mind by what I have seen in the Tenth Division of the Federal Rehabilitation Service. Out there they are providing for disabled soldiers in training "a few paternal acres," and are making out of the men satisfied, thrifty farmers. What better thing could be done for them than to help them make homes for themselves and their families "in their own ground?"

It may not seem, at first thought, to be quite the proper thing to assume that a man who was wounded at Chateau Thierry or one who was gassed in Belleau Wood will be willing or able to hustle for a living on a farm where lots of hard work is generally supposed to be essential to success, but in Minnesota more than four hundred men of

the disabled soldier class are being trained to be farmers.

The Rehabilitation Service trains men for a variety of occupations; most of them are being fitted for industrial pursuits or for clerical positions. That means self-support, and without much delay, in the form of wages or salaries—which is all right as far as it goes and may sometimes lead to a high degree of success. But many soldiers who came from the farm want to go back to the farm, and some others would like to have farms if they knew how to get them. For, notwithstanding all that we see and hear of the drift from the country to the city, there is a real hunger for land; men do love the soil and yearn for enough of it on which to make a home. There was evidence of this when the Government included in its rehabilitation program training in agriculture. Training of this kind was applied for by ex-service men to a greater or less extent throughout the country, but

nowhere did the Veterans' Bureau find the existing facilities so well adapted to the needs of the men as in Minnesota.

In the educational system of that State there is what is known as the School of Agriculture. It was the first of its kind in the country. There is a College of Agriculture in the State University for advanced students and specialists, where agriculture is studied as a science and men prepare for agriculture as a profession. The School of Agriculture is preparatory to the College, but its finished product goes generally to the farm and into actual farming for profit. Its students are boys and girls from the farm who are well advanced in or have completed the grades of the public school and are ready for much of the work of the standard high school, to which is added instruction in agriculture. That means training in the care, breeding and feeding of farm animals, study of the chemistry of soils, plant-breeding, shop-work, farm accounts, domestic science for the girls and a lot of other things that an efficient farmer or farmer's wife must know about in order to accomplish the best results in their important place in society.

Schooling for Farm Work

When the manager of the Tenth Division, C. D. Hibbard, applied for the admission of ex-service men to the School of Agriculture of the University of Minnesota the principal, Prof. D. D. Mayne, said:

"Yes, we will be glad to take these boys and give them the same training we give the boys from the farm, on one condition."

"What is that?" was asked.

"That they must have, or must acquire, land of their own on which to apply what they learn here; and it is desirable that they be men who have had some experience on a farm and know something of what they are preparing for."

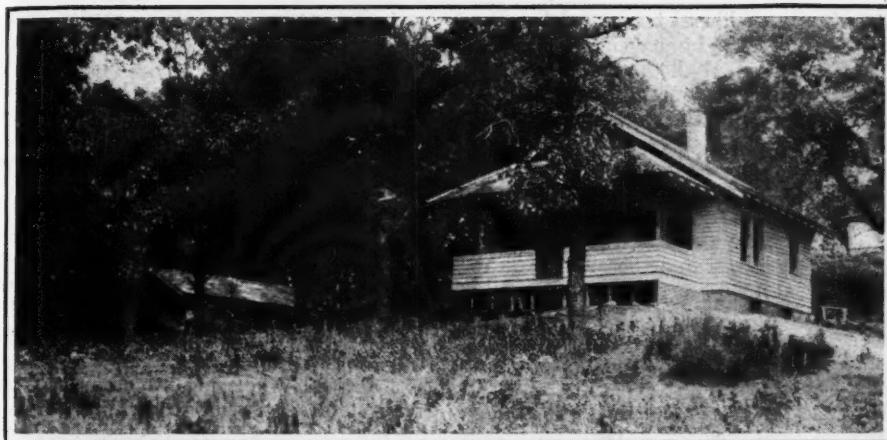
"But not many of them have land or any means of getting any," was suggested. It seemed to be the idea of some of the men that they would like to become professional farmers—fit themselves for the position of County Agent or farm manager or other expert work. There is a limited opportunity for workers of that kind, but it implies generally long training and much practical experience. Not many could hope to secure positions of that kind. Professor Mayne knew that and was unwilling to take students who would be getting \$100 a

month, or more if married, while in school and train them for three years only to become "hired men" at \$35 to \$45 a month. He knew they would not be satisfied with that result; would soon give it up, and the three years' time spent in training would be wasted. He had a plan by which the men might acquire land; it was a part of the program of agricultural education peculiar to Minnesota.

The School of Agriculture is in session from the first of October till the first of April. In April the boys go back to the farm to put in practice for six months what they have been taught about farming during the previous six months in school. Every boy who attends this school, in which the full course of instruction covers three years, must have for the vacation or practice period what Professor Mayne calls a "project." He must elect one or more—usually two or three—particular things to which he will give special attention during the vacation and on which he must report when he returns to school in October. The quality of his performance in his "projects" counts in his school credits.

To illustrate: Each boy is given when he goes home in April a booklet entitled "General Plan for Home Project Work." To state it as briefly as possible, the scheme takes account of the young man as an individual with certain farm-production and farm-improvement projects to engage his efforts and as a member of the community with social opportunities and duties calling for his participation. He may choose for his farm project dairy-cow feeding and milk production, or seed disinfection, or tractor operation, or poultry keeping, or any one of a score or more of things suggested in his "project" book; or, he may undertake to promote community production by organizing a cow-testing association or arranging for a neighborhood campaign for pedigreed seed; or, he may stress social service by taking the lead in organizing a farmers' club or in securing a traveling library; or he may emphasize some feature of home life improvement by installing a system of farm accounts or putting toilets and lavatories in the farmhouse.

These are only a few of many suggestions of things to do on the farm. On those which he selects he is to write a complete report. Nor is he left entirely to his own inclination as to this matter, for he is visited several times during the vacation by an



AN EX-SERVICEMAN'S COTTAGE AMONG THE TREES IN THE AGRICULTURAL COLONY AT ARGONNE FARMS, MINNESOTA

"inspector of projects" from the school, who aids the student, if necessary, and reports on his work. Is there any other class of students with whose work greater pains is taken by the school which he attends? The reader will hardly be surprised to hear that the level of agricultural performance in the State, as well as the quality of rural citizenship, has been noticeably raised since this school began its service to the farmers of Minnesota thirty years ago.

When the ex-service men came into the school a year or more ago, they had all been given a physical examination to determine whether they could reasonably hope to be able to do farm work of a more or less arduous kind. So when they were "all set," as the camp phrase was, Professor Mayne proceeded to give each one of them his "project." It was the same in each case; it was to get a piece of land that he could call his own and on which at the end of his training he could hope to make a living for a family. But how was that to be done? Few of them had any money except their training allowance of \$100 a month for single men, \$135 for married men, and an extra amount of \$10 for one child or \$17.50 a month if there were two children. "You get out and find the land and we'll find a way to help you buy it," was the project assigned during term time to the soldier students. They were enjoined, however, to make no purchase of land until an inspector from the school had examined and approved the tract as suitable for the purposes intended.

That was how it happened that on a Saturday afternoon in February, 1922, three young men knocked at the door of Dr. R. H. Benham, who lives about fifteen miles south of Minneapolis. The Benham family own a large tract of land lying on both sides of a paved highway leading into the city. The young men told Dr. Benham that they were ex-service men in training in the school of agriculture and that they wanted to buy land suitable for vegetable, fruit and poultry farming. He showed them lands adapted to their purposes and they informed him that there were others at the school who might wish to locate with them.

"Argonne Farms," near Minneapolis

The result of that afternoon's interview is one of the most interesting developments thus far realized in the rehabilitation work of the Veterans' Bureau. With the approval of the rehabilitation service and the farm school, a tract of 160 acres was bought and divided into parcels of three to seven acres. This land is partly timbered and of sufficiently varied surface to afford an opportunity for picturesque effects in building and planting. A landscape architect has been employed to make the most of this fact; about forty dwellings, garages and poultry houses have been erected, the lowlands have been ditched, roads built, the gardens plowed, water and electric systems will be provided, and on the first of September thirty families were living there in their own homes. This land has been pur-

chased on very liberal terms and Dr. Benham has aided also in financing the building of the cottages. With the supervision of a master builder the men were able to do most of the work themselves, thereby reducing the cost of their houses. Against their obligations for land and buildings, amounting to various sums from \$3500 to \$5000, the men apply \$50 a month out of their training allowance. As nearly all of these men have at least two years' training yet to come they can reasonably expect to have their original indebtedness reduced, when thrown upon their own resources, to a point where they can easily handle it, for not only can they rely upon the money they will receive from the Government, but beginning next year they hope to be deriving considerable revenue from their gardens and poultry. To meet this situation in an orderly manner each man is expected to conform to a monthly budget which on an average of \$140 a month looks something like this:

Payment on land and house	\$ 50.00
Insurance (federal policy)	10.00
Living expenses (food)	25.00
Furniture (installment plan)	25.00
Balance unappropriated	30.00
	<hr/>
	\$140.00

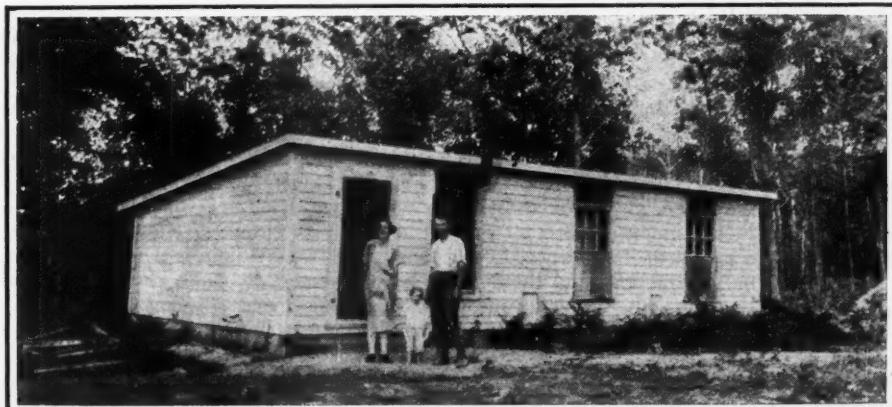
Many uses will be found for the unappropriated balance during the first year, no doubt, including fuel, clothing, tools, poultry stock, seeds, etc., but with rent provided for, the economic situation of these families, gradually acquiring their own homes in what is destined to be within the

next five years a beautiful garden spot, within thirty minutes, over a paved road, of the public markets of Minneapolis, is already one which may well be envied by many who toil for a living in office or factory. The members of this colony expect to market their produce coöperatively; they will have the benefit of a community house, a consolidated school and an already well-established union church, so that their social, educational and religious advantages may be just what they choose to make them.

It is not at all surprising, under these circumstances, to find the morale of the men excellent; a spirit of hustle and enthusiasm pervades the whole colony; they can see the rapid progress that has been made since the work of improvement began in May and anticipate the early realization of their hopes.

Nor are they left without counsel just when they need it most. The School of Agriculture furnishes expert advice on all their problems of planting and seeding, of poultry-raising and bee-keeping, and furnishes a resident director who will supervise the development of the colony until its members complete their training. The influence and value of this supervision goes even to the matter of personal and domestic affairs and makes for both economy in family outlay and better progress in the general enterprise. For instance, one of the "Argonne Farms" men remarked to the resident director one day that he was going into town to pay his rent.

"What rent do you pay?" was asked.
"Thirty-five dollars a month."



THE CHICKEN-HOUSE SERVES AS A TEMPORARY DWELLING FOR THIS SOLDIER-FARMER AND HIS SMALL FAMILY, WHILE HE BUILDS THE REAL HOME



AN EX-SERVICE MAN AND WIFE, IN FRONT OF THEIR NEW HOME AT ARGONNE FARMS

"Got a lease?"

"No, I pay from month to month."

"Cut it out! Here is your poultry house practically finished; what's the matter with bringing your family out here and living in your poultry house till your cottage is finished? That won't be more than a couple of months."

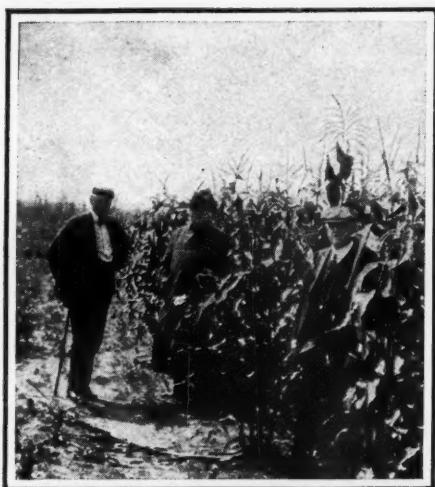
The wife in town demurred a little at first, but when shown the new, clean poultry house she caught the idea of living in her own home, and, as a result, poultry houses and garages and unfinished cottages filled up with the families of the soldier students as fast as the roofs afforded shelter.

Farms on "Cut-Over" Lands

But "Argonne Farms" is not the only place where Professor Mayne's requirement that the soldier in training for farming must have a piece of land of his own is bringing fine results. Veteransville, Minn., is ninety miles north of Minneapolis in what is called the "cut-over" region. About half the State of Minnesota was once covered with great forests of pine and hardwood. The woodman did not "spare that tree" and there are millions of acres studded with stumps in the midst of the second growth of timber. This is some of the land referred to by the late Franklin K. Lane as available for the returning soldiers.

These cut-over lands in the region of the Great Lakes constitute the last large body

of largely unoccupied agricultural land north of the Ohio and within the rain belt that can be bought at prices, which, after the cost of sufficient clearing is added, the man of small means can afford to pay. The first cost ranges from \$10 to \$25 an acre and the expense of clearing from \$20 to \$50 an acre, the more expensive land being generally the easiest to clear, so that the average cost of land ready for the plow is about \$50. But, the clearing of twenty acres on an eighty-acre tract is sufficient to give the settler a good start, as he can pasture the other sixty acres successfully without clearing and such use of it for a few years reduces the expense of clearing, which thus becomes a gradual process. This land can all be bought on easy terms, but the State of Minnesota again offers as to its own lands peculiarly favorable conditions of which the rehabilitated soldier in training has already taken advantage in many cases. It provides, in the first place, that the buyer of State land may take possession on the payment of 15 per cent. of the price, the remainder being deferred to any time within forty years, as may suit the convenience of the purchaser, at 4 per cent. annually. In addition to this generous proposition the last legislature enacted what is known as the Bisette law by which the county may clear ten acres in a forty or twenty in an eighty-acre piece and collect the cost in the form of taxes spread



A CORNFIELD IN AUGUST, ON LAND CLEARED BY AN EX-SERVICE MAN LAST MAY, AT VETERANSVILLE, MINNESOTA

over a period of fifteen years. Much, probably more than 50 per cent. of this cut-over land is of superior quality and especially adapted to dairy farming.

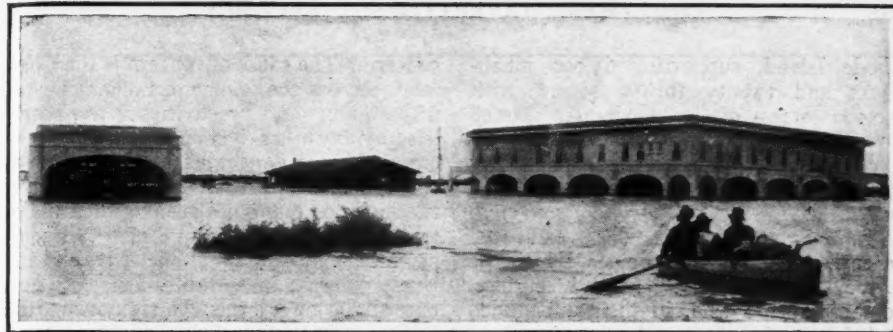
With the approval of the Veterans' Bureau and the School of Agriculture thirty-eight soldier students have contracted with Capt. E. O. Buhler, an ex-service man, at McGrath, Minn., for tracts of this cutover land, averaging sixty acres in extent, on which they are applying their allowance at the rate of \$50 a month, as they are doing at "The Argonne Farms." Captain Buhler is giving the soldier students at Veteransville the benefit of the Bissette law in aiding them in the clearing of their land. In effect it means that the soldier settler gets paid for clearing his own land, though he will, of course, return the money to the county eventually in the form of taxes over a period of fifteen years.

The men at Veteransville, of whom twelve are married, have been at work since May first, and some of the results are shown in the accompanying pictures of their houses. The lands selected by them lie within an area of four miles by six so that they constitute a little community and are planning the same social and co-operative arrangements that are contemplated at "Argonne Farms." They will go more generally into dairy-farming, poultry and vegetables, having nearby markets in Duluth, Minneapolis and St. Paul, only three or four hours distant by truck. Cap-

tain Buhler is also aiding the men of this colony in procuring farm animals and tools and leaving no effort untried to put the colony on the road to a thrifty and prosperous condition. The men are responding with zeal and industry. One of the most gratifying results of the first five months of their experience is a very remarkable improvement in their physical condition. This colony will be kept in as close observation by the Veterans' Bureau and the School of Agriculture as the one near Minneapolis and will also have the service of advisers from the school. There may be a few failures in these now promising ventures, but failure will be a matter of the personal equation or some unavoidable individual mishap. So thoroughly satisfactory thus far and so promising as to final results have been these efforts to establish rehabilitated soldiers on their own farms that, as Mr. J. C. Batten, Chief of the Rehabilitation Service, informs me, measures are being formulated by members of Congress, who have observed the disposition of the men to help themselves, which will provide further assistance than the monthly allowance for their training period. Mr. Clague, representative of the Second Congressional district of Minnesota, is supporting the request of the men at Veteransville to the Quartermaster General of the Army for equipment from the army surplus stores in the form of tractors, plows, wagons, fencing wire and other articles useful in their land-clearing and farming operations.

While interest centers chiefly in the performances of the men in these two colonies, they comprise by no means the full extent of the location of former soldiers in training at the Minnesota School of Agriculture on their own land. There are over three hundred others—located to some extent in small groups, but generally only one or two in a place, "carrying on" according to the program given to them at the school, and generally making good.

Some one may wonder how these men—especially those living with their families in these colonies—are to continue their studies for the remainder of their course. That is a problem not yet fully solved, the school authorities insisting that they come back to school during the school term and the Veterans' Bureau holding that that is not practicable and that teachers must be sent to them. The final solution is likely to be some sort of a compromise that will seem to secure the best results.



IN THE FLOODED PALO VERDE VALLEY, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, UNDER WATER FROM JUNE TO SEPTEMBER OF THIS YEAR

THE BATTLE WITH THE COLORADO

HOW THE PEOPLE EACH YEAR FIGHT TO DEFEND THEIR HOMES
AGAINST THE ENCROACHMENTS OF A FLOOD-MAD RIVER

BY EDGAR LLOYD HAMPTON

FOR a group of American communities to create, through long years of effort and out of the raw material, an asset of \$800,000,000 of potential wealth, and then to see that wealth vanish completely and permanently within the space of a single week, would be, to say the least, a decidedly unpleasant experience. Yet such is the nerve-wracking possibility that to-day confronts the 75,000 inhabitants of the half-dozen rich agricultural areas that lie along the lower basin of the Colorado River. The facts which render this contingency so imminent are purely geological; in addition to which they are so unique as to deserve more than passing attention.

By reason of its fame and its relative importance, no less than the strangeness of the case that fate has thrust upon it, let us consider of these communities, first of all, Imperial Valley. This valley was in prehistoric days (perhaps 100,000 years ago) a northern extension of the Gulf of California. The gulf, at that mythological time, continued 150 miles further than it now does up into the southern center of what is now the State of California.

Into the eastern side of the old gulf, at a point near the present city of Yuma, Arizona, emptied the Colorado River, carrying continually vast quantities of silt or surface

soil, which it deposited at its delta along sea level. Through the centuries this silt deposit gradually formed a bar extending entirely across the Gulf of California, bisecting it midway north and south, and creating thus, a hundred miles inland, that vast lake of ancient times known as the Salton Sea.

This sea in an indeterminate series of centuries, gradually decreased through a process of evaporation until it finally disappeared altogether, leaving in its place an area one hundred miles in length, some thirty miles in width, drought-stricken and dead, yet amazingly rich in agricultural possibilities. This area—this dried-up lake bed, the future home of winter truck gardens and world-beating cotton and cantaloupes, which once was the bottom of the Pacific Ocean and later the basin of a huge impounding lake, is the far-famed Imperial Valley of the present day. And the significant fact which, added to other significant facts, has time and again spelt tragedy to many thousand souls is that it lies from 50 to 287 feet below the level of the sea.

Temperamental Waterways

Here is a case unparalleled in all the known world history—a valley, in area 50 per cent. larger than the commonwealth of

Rhode Island, supporting 65,000 inhabitants and twenty thrifty towns, with 650,000 acres of irrigated area famed throughout the world for its vast productiveness, whose crops last year, passing \$70,000,000 in value, equaled more than one carload for each man, woman, and child of its inhabitants, and whose estimated potential wealth is \$500,000,000, lying close to the sea and 287 feet beneath its surface. Some there are who, in their unbounded zeal for its beatitudes, have referred to Imperial Valley as "The Hollow of God's Hand." This reference seems scarcely orthodox in view of the more than casual menace that each midsummer confronts, and sometimes all but destroys, the homes, the ranches and towns of this valley's inhabitants. Let us look for a moment at the peculiar and unprecedented character of this menace.

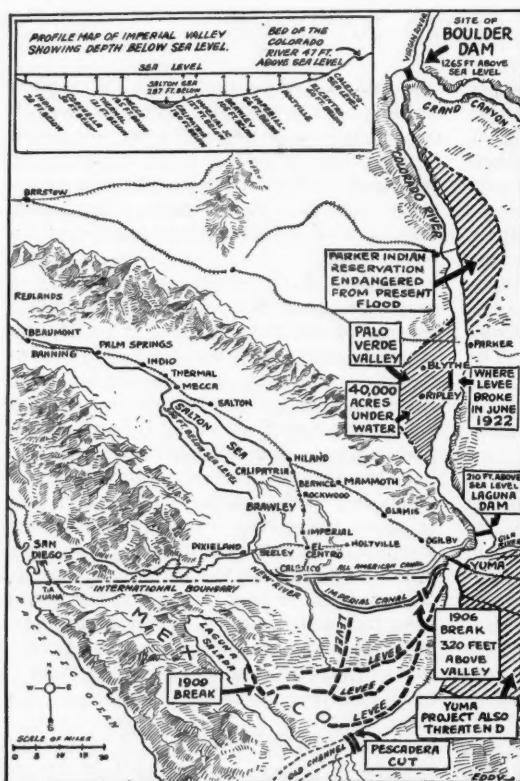
The fact that Imperial Valley lies below sea level is not in itself a cause of great

concern. The cause of concern is the Colorado River, the dangerous character of whose habits and proclivities is not paralleled by any other river on earth. All Western rivers are dangerous at the period of the annual floods—that tense period when the snows on many peaks along their upper tributaries, under the urge of a hot mid-summer sun, melt simultaneously, and the rivers debouch in a frantic headlong rush onto all the lower levels. This is known to the West as the period of the June freshet, an event common to the Columbia, the Snake, the Fraser and other Pacific Coast rivers; for all are disposed, at the dog-day period of their lives, to strike like the rattler, without warning. Yet none of these rivers, nor any other river, holds within itself the deadly potentialities of the Colorado.

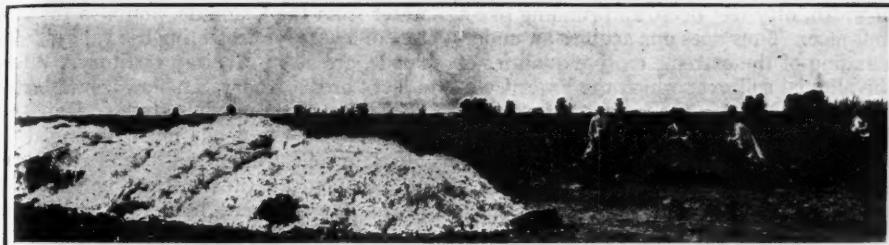
A Silt-Carrying River

For this condition there are the following specific and also dramatic reasons: The Colorado is the third largest river in the United States, with an annual run-off of more than 15,000,000 acre feet of water, one-third of which it discharges in a single period of thirty midsummer days (a fact in itself susceptible of tragedy). In addition to this, the Colorado is the largest carrier of silt deposit of any river in the Western Hemisphere. Each year it carries from the uplands of the seven Southwestern States through which it flows, 120,000 acre feet of alluvial soil, or silt (which means a deposit of soil one foot deep over 120,000 acres), and discharges that vast accumulation of silt at various points along its lower levels.

Here is a condition not portentous of evil until the facts are analyzed. Once analyzed, however, these facts become replete with fear-compelling conclusions. For the river, during those centuries of continuous silt deposit, has erected across its point of discharge into the California Gulf a huge wall or barrier of silt, which blocks its progress and tends continually to turn it back away from its natural outlet. Moreover, by this same process, through these same busy centuries, it has built for itself out of many billion tons



THE REGIONS AFFECTED OR THREATENED BY FLOOD CONDITIONS ALONG THE COLORADO RIVER



A COTTON-FIELD IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—THE IMPERIAL VALLEY—WHICH LIES 120 FEET BELOW SEA LEVEL

of silt deposit, an elevated bed which stands scores of feet above its former bed, hemmed in by twin cones, or parallel levees of its own manufacture; and over this elevated bed the Colorado rides high and menacingly above the borders of the surrounding country, making, throughout the critical days of the annual midsummer flood, persistent and strenuous efforts to disgorge itself, not into the Gulf of California where it belongs, but back again to its former bed, the Salton Sea, in the bottom of Imperial Valley.

The situation at once becomes apparent—Imperial Valley, 287 feet below the level of the sea, while upon a curved ridge high above its eastern and southern sides, clamors a huge river which, always temperamental and unreliable, puts forth at certain periods of the year incessant efforts to escape from its confines, invade the lowlands, and submerge the ranches and towns; with the further appalling fact, which assuredly must cause many sleepless nights, that if it ever should succeed, Imperial Valley could never again be reclaimed; it would become once more as formerly it was, a vast inland sea, and so would remain until Nature herself, through the slow process of evaporation reclaimed the area hundreds of years hence.

A Battle with the Elements

The fight on the part of the settlers to prevent this tragic dénouement has been both intense and continuous. An extensive series of levees has been built. They are from fifteen to thirty feet in height, and aggregate sixty miles in length. They are supplied with steam shovels, trains of dump cars, and other flood-fighting equipment, while along their various tops run sixty miles of railroad tracks, for use in repair and extension work and in case of sudden emergencies.

These emergencies, it must be said, have

repeatedly arisen; for while the Colorado River has successfully made its own bed, it persistently refuses to lie in it. Once in the year 1909, and twice in 1910, it broke its bounds and destroyed millions of dollars of property. Each year sees it gain important points against its adversaries. In the summer of 1906 it completely outmaneuvered its opponents, broke a main levee, and permanently inundated 50,000 acres of farms and homes before it could be checked.

This year misfortune decreed the catastrophe for the adjacent lowlands of Palo Verde when, early in June, the river without warning swung from its course and wiped out almost half the entire valley, hopelessly submerging two towns, ruining millions of dollars' worth of standing crops, and rendering several thousand persons homeless. The saving fact in regard to Palo Verde is, that with the subsidence of the floods in the latter part of September, this region, since it does not lie below sea level, can be reclaimed—a condition which unfortunately can never apply to the 650,000 acres surrounding the Salton Sea.

Numerous Expedients

During their many years of struggle with the elements, the flood fighters of Imperial Valley have found it necessary to resort to many ingenious expedients. This year what is known as the Pescadero Cut is being utilized. The Pescadero Cut dams the channel of the Colorado at a point where it flows westward on the Mexican side, cuts it off and diverts the waters down a series of huge arroyos southward through Mexico, thus relieving the pressure at the danger point. This cut was made originally 500 feet in width, ten feet in depth, and some four miles in length. Into it the waters of the Colorado were turned, and very soon thereafter the Pescadero Cut was 3000 feet

in width, fifty feet deep, and running like a mill-race. Thus does one acquire an understanding of the extreme erosive qualities of the alluvial soil over which the lower Colorado flows. Within the memory of man the huge river has changed its outlet not less than a dozen times. Even so small an inducement as a gopher hole, unfortunately placed, has been known to alter the channel.

So the menace from the Colorado floods is real and very extreme. Moreover, each year sees this menace increase. For the 120,000 acre feet of silt, which the river annually deposits, serve not only to block the flow of water at its mouth; it results in another alarming fact, as well—the gradual filling-up of the river bed itself. Each year the bed of the lower Colorado is lifted one foot higher than it was the year before by the gradual deposit of its silt, thus lifting the water surface higher each year, and necessitating an increase in the height of the various levees. The bed of the lower Colorado to-day is fourteen feet higher than it was in 1906, at the time of the first disastrous break.

Added to this array of unfortunate facts is an additional one international in character—the fact that a fifty-mile stretch of the main canal for supplying Imperial Valley with

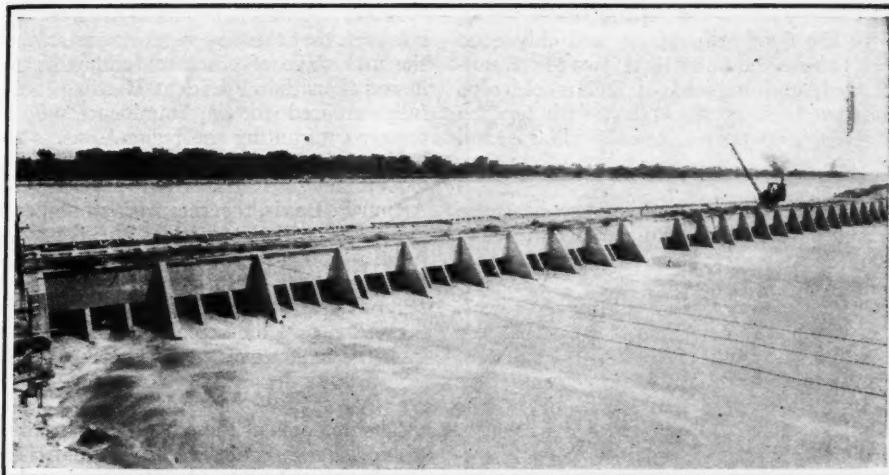
water from the Colorado, and also the system of levees for protecting the valleys from floods, are all in Mexican territory. When a levee breaks, the waters flow from Mexico back into the United States, and all this fight against the floods must be waged on Mexican soil. Hence we have the dream of an all-American canal extending westward within the southern border of California, which would transfer activities to American soil and thus in a measure simplify the problem.

Such, then, is the critical situation confronting the people of Imperial Valley. To meet this situation they have expended during the past seven years \$2,750,000 in protective work, each dollar of which was contributed by the owners of land on the American side of the boundary. This year the cost of protection work alone will reach \$500,000. One year, during an extreme crisis, the Southern Pacific Railway offered timely assistance; out on the levees it ran one trainload after another of rock-filled flats, and dumped them—engines, flats, and all—in an effort to prevent disaster.

So the people of Imperial Valley continue their valiant fight against the river's onslaughts, grimly determined to win, yet having always in their minds the urge of an



STREET SCENE IN EL CENTRO, ONE OF A SCORE OF TOWNS LYING BELOW SEA LEVEL IN IMPERIAL VALLEY



A FLOOD-GATE ON THE COLORADO RIVER, USED FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES

awe-inspiring eventuality, mentioned by few yet known and dreaded by all—the fear that any midsummer the flood may reach an unprecedented height, 30 or 50 per cent. greater than ever was known before, and the knowledge that if such an event occurs, no power on earth could save Imperial Valley from destruction.

Other Regions Involved

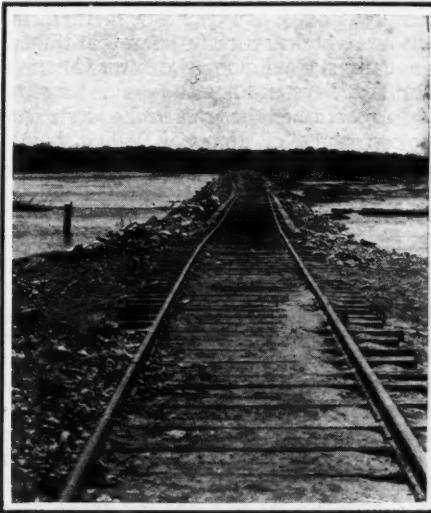
If Imperial Valley were the only area endangered by the Colorado River, the people of the Southwest might view the situation with a greater degree of complacency.

Unfortunately, however, it is not. For that same process of erosion which, through the centuries, built this untrustworthy river's bed to a point so high above Imperial Valley, has created a similar contingency in other districts. Over an area 200 miles in diameter, extending inland 300 miles from the sea, including three large and important communities and several smaller ones, these same or similar conditions are annually met and combated. Above the Parker Indian Reserve, shown on the accompanying map, the river's elevation is very slight—an average of two or three feet. At Palo Verde, however, and also in the Yuma district of Arizona, this elevation is increased to some twenty feet; while at Imperial Valley, as hitherto explained, the river's bed lies forty-seven feet above sea level and 325 feet above the valley's base.

The people of all these thrifty communities find cause for sleepless nights. Each year, through a series of months, they array

themselves in a deadly combat against the encroaching floods; and each year at some point, or at many points, they fail.

The acreage, the number of cities and homes, and institutions involved in the area they are called on to defend, would read about as follows: The Parker Indian Reserve, upon which the Government has expended \$20,000,000, 110,000 acres; the Yuma project, which the Government has spent \$12,000,000 to protect, 140,000 acres; the Palo Verde Valley, 140,000 acres, 40,000



A LEVEE IN MEXICAN TERRITORY

(One of a system which furnishes Imperial Valley with its only defense against midsummer floods. The Colorado is here shown at low water)

of which at this writing are under water, with the flood still raging, and only 8000 acres above the water level; two towns submerged, and millions of dollars of crops destroyed; Imperial Valley, with 650,000 acres, 65,000 people, twenty villages and towns, and \$70,000,000 of annual production.

The aggregate number of people whose homes lie within this danger zone are more than 75,000; they have 1,000,000 acres of cultivated farms, and they have built more than thirty thrifty villages and towns. The value of their annual crops exceeds \$100,000,000, and the potential value of their homes, lands, and improvements more than \$800,000,000. All these lie at the mercy of a great and pitiless river which, during three successive months of each mid-summer, is apt at any moment, and without warning, to turn its raging torrents across their farms and towns.

The Government Offers Aid

Regarding this critical situation, the Government of course, has not been remiss; for the Government is never really remiss, it is only cautious and deliberate. One hundred years ago it knew vaguely of the Colorado River. Forty years ago the Geological Survey began active investigations, and thirty years ago the national archives were filled with its exhaustive reports. Ten years later the Reclamation Service took a hand; and soon thereafter the heads of departments knew that tragedy annually stalked along the lower Colorado, and that lives and homes were endangered.

In 1906, when the levee broke, destroying 50,000 acres of Imperial Valley homes, President Theodore Roosevelt, in a message to Congress, declared that a great impounding reservoir on the lower Colorado would furnish the only plan available for the ultimate salvation of the people and towns involved.

Since that declaration each succeeding Administration has quickened its activities; surveys, investigations, and comprehensive reports have passed through the mill and into formative plans. To the day of his untimely death the late Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, held this same Colorado project uppermost in his mind; and with his passing the enterprise came into the hands of his successors. Thus has the plan moved gradually toward fulfilment.

It was not until midsummer of a year ago, however, that these aggregate plans reached the first stage of practical fulfilment; for it was then that President Harding, being fully aroused to the imminence of the danger confronting the region, sent to the basin of the lower Colorado the head of the Government's Reclamation Service, Mr. Arthur P. Davis, together with a number of assistants, with instructions to investigate fully and report back a feasible plan for flood control. Later came also the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Fall, and the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hoover, to look the region over personally.

Constructing a Dam and Reservoir

The outcome of these investigations, and of subsequent conferences, was a decision to meet the present emergency with a dam situated at Boulder Canyon, a point some 460 miles up the Colorado from tidewater, in the States of Arizona and Nevada. Such a dam, it was agreed by all the engineers conversant with the facts, would furnish a solution, and the only solution possible, to the unfortunate situation.

This plan primarily should be credited to Mr. Davis of the Reclamation Service. Presented upon its merits, however, and as the quickest means of meeting a grave emergency, it received the endorsement of President Harding and of both the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of the Interior, as it also has met the general approval of the people residing in the threatened area. It was following this that the President appointed Secretary Hoover head of a Government commission to carry the plan to completion; thus the dream moves toward a hopeful though long-delayed conclusion.

Boulder Canyon Dam will stand, at its base, 665 feet above sea level. Its height will be 600 feet, its length at top 1000 feet, and it will impound an amount of water equivalent to almost two full years of the Colorado's annual run-off. By impounding the water during the flood period, and releasing it gradually for irrigation and hydro-electric purposes during the remainder of the year, the area now threatened with inundation will be permanently protected.

The dam and its impounding reservoir, it may be interesting to note, will be many times larger than any similar project anywhere else on earth. The dam at Assuan,

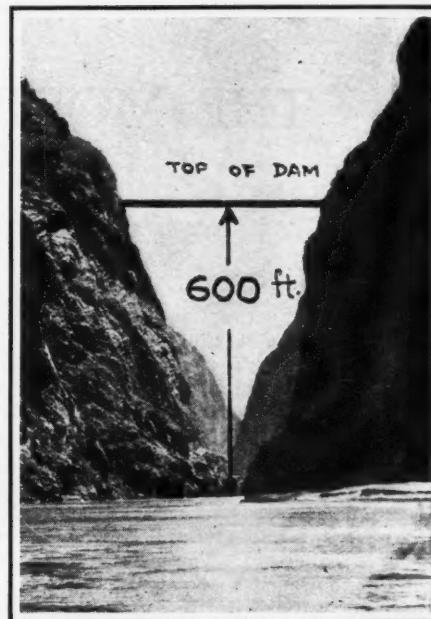
on the Nile, while much longer than the Boulder Dam, is less than ninety feet high and impounds a maximum of only 1,800,000 acre feet of water. The Boulder Dam will impound 31,400,000 acre feet, or seventeen times as much. The area of its reservoir is larger than the State of Delaware, and it will be navigable for more than one hundred miles.

Power Will Pay the Bill

While Boulder Dam is primarily a Government undertaking, and its original financing will be in Government hands, the entire construction and maintenance cost will later be repaid by the electrical energy which the project will develop. Always with the problem of Western reclamation runs the problem of electrical development—or, rather, electrical development is the solution; for it is to this source, and not to irrigation, that all such enterprises must look for their final reimbursement. The seven Western States involved, which to-day, with minor exceptions, burn \$18 coal in competition with \$4 coal at Pittsburgh, need and can use this electrical energy. They need it also in an effort to conserve the rapidly dwindling supply of fuel oil, and this condition the proposed development will bring about; for the Boulder Canyon Dam will develop 600,000 horse-power of electrical energy, which will displace annually 23,000,000 barrels of fuel oil now consumed in the development of power. Much more, indeed, could be said on the theme of hydro-electric energy, and the question is one that might well attract the attention of all thoughtful minds. The day of steam is all but past; our coal and oil are rapidly diminishing, and the world at large is swiftly approaching the golden age of hydro-electricity.

The cost of the dam will be \$45,000,000, and repayment will extend over a period of twenty-five years. It is estimated that, in an effort to protect the various threatened districts, the Government has already expended of public funds more than enough to have paid the cost of the dam, with results that were only a partial success and with no hope of return. The Boulder Canyon Dam will permanently solve the problem, ultimately without cost to the Government.

Since the huge dam will also irrigate more



SITE OF THE PROPOSED BOULDER CANYON DAM ACROSS THE COLORADO

(Which would create a reservoir larger than the State of Delaware, to store-up the floodwaters of the river and incidentally to develop irrigation and power projects)

than 2,000,000 additional acres of arid land, thus creating additional millions of wealth, Mr. Davis, of the Reclamation Service, at first reported that the cost of construction might be charged 15 per cent. against irrigation and 85 per cent. against electrical development. Later, and after further investigation, he reported that the entire cost must be charged against hydro-electric development. Thus will it be seen that the project, as reported and endorsed by the various Government heads, is the only one by means of which the cost of construction and maintenance may be met by the people in the territory involved.

So the victims of the flood-infested lower Colorado basin are not without hope of ultimate salvation. The Government has taken definite steps; Congress at last is alive to the situation; one of the greatest constructive engineering minds of the present day, having endorsed the project, has been given definite orders to carry it to completion, and Mr. Hoover is not noted for delays.

THE MODERN GREEKS AT CLOSE RANGE

BY LAWRENCE HENRY BAKER

TO ONE who has spent his life in the study and admiration of the wondrous performances of the Greeks of ancient times, a sojourn among the Greeks of to-day brings at first a disappointment, and then a feeling of profound pity. For at least two thousand years—perhaps from the very battle of Cynoscephale and Rome's assumption of Greece's sovereignty, in 197, B. C.—the Greeks have been steadily falling from their position of affluence and of creative leadership. The last quarter of a century, however, spent almost entirely in continual warfare has brought them down abruptly to the very brink of ruin, if not to ruin itself. This period has seen them exposed to the trials and hardships of many small Balkan intrigues and wars; it has seen them involved in the tremendous struggle of what we shudderingly call the World War; and it has seen them denuded almost entirely of hope by the recent occurrences in Asia Minor.

To-day the archæological ruins of Greece are just as beautiful as they ever were; but they seem to inspire new thoughts; they seem by very contrast to point to the wretched plight of the present Hellenes. The Lion's Gate at Mycenæ, the proud symbol of wealth and power, stands firm and unshaken amid a people who are tossed on the floods of conflicting political convictions; and the Acropolis, the lordly relic from the days of the splendid Athenian empire with its golden stream of revenues, is sadly incongruous before the present empty coffers of the nation.

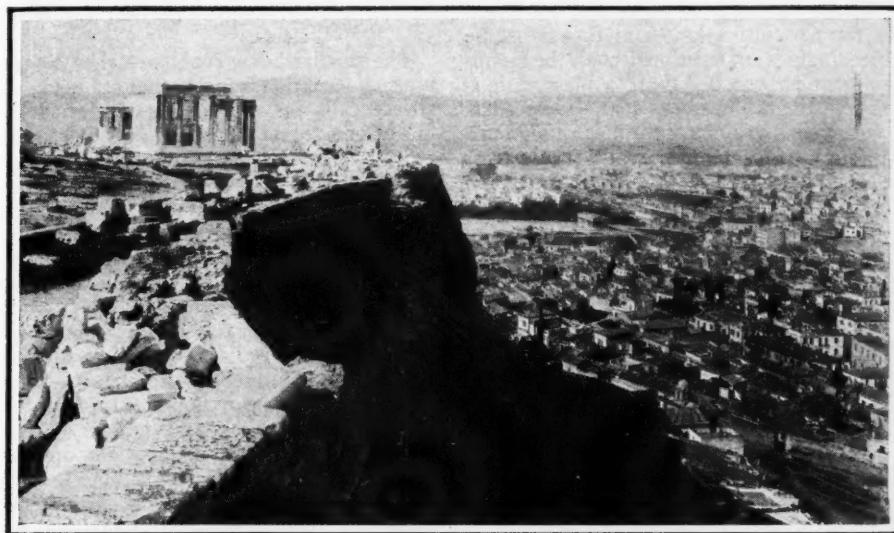
Greece's currency to-day exchanges at a rate which approaches that of Germany and Austria; but these two countries are perhaps in the final analysis better off than she is. They have within their boundaries extensive natural resources; whereas Greece to-day—just as she was in the time of Thucydides, if not more so—is largely dependent upon the outside world for her support. Greece possesses no great mineral

wealth; her agricultural products, though barely enough for exportation, are scarcely sufficiently diversified to feed the country; and the famous Attic plain, in the light of modern finance, is a poetic rather than a commercial entity.

Strange Contrast in Athens

Athens, the capital, is the wealthiest city of Greece; but even Athens is a strange mixture of new and old, of moderate circumstances and of poverty. There is in Athens nothing that approaches display as one sees it in America. The fixtures and equipment are present; but the means and resources are absent. The King's palace is deserted; its windows are broken; and the grass plot about it is baked hard and yellow. The city's streets are dusty and in need of repairs. Buildings stand draped in their scaffolds (some of them have stood so for over a year), the process of erection being halted for lack of money and materials; and everywhere requests for commodities are met with the doleful *δει* *ἐχει*, "There is no more." Athens is doing her best to smile in the face of the country's war-ridden poverty; but her very efforts serve to demonstrate how far-gone conditions are.

In age, Athens is a city of fifty years ago in which have been preserved some relics from antiquity, and into which has been cast a sprinkling of present-day matters. And the new and the old have combined in a way that is fascinating for itsizarreness. On her streets one sees the patient donkey laden with antiquity's wine-skin, the ancient water vendor with his armful of graceful jars, the horse-drawn carriage which was the pride of two generations ago, and the high-powered motor-car—all progressing side by side, and hobnobbing as sociably as if they were all from the same epoch. Styles are seen in women's clothing that savor of the day when woman was frail and delicate; yet with them are found bobbed hair and smoking by the fair-sex.



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A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ATHENS, AS SEEN FROM THE ACROPOLIS

(The Temple of Athena, with its Porch of the Maidens, is seen at the left. Off in the distance, to the right, is the Theseum, best preserved of all the Greek temples)

Still a worse effect of modernity is seen: the priesthood, that last stronghold of conservatism, is being invaded; and its members, too, are shearing their locks and smoking the vulgar weed. Strangely incongruous it is to see a long-frocked priest with his abundant glossy hair just long enough to hide his ears, and with an elegant, gold-tipped cigarette between his fingers, rush to the door of a fashionable hotel, and in debonair manner order the porter to get him a carriage.

The strangest mixture of all, however, the American would find in the "Wall Street" of modern Greece. Making into Stadium Street and cutting off at a sharp angle is the narrow way of Sophocles' Street, on which are to be found Greece's stock exchange and curb-market. Hours of trade run from eight in the morning until noon, and from four in the afternoon until eight in the evening. During both of these periods, the street—sidewalks and roadway—is crowded with men clad in linen or palm-beach suits, who seem to be indulging in pleasant conversation and playing idly with strings of beads—amber or glass, according to the owner's wealth. The string of beads, which is no more than an outlet for the superfluous nervous energy of the hands, and the cane are the inalienable signs of the speculator in Greece, just

as much as the brief-case and the Gladstone spectacles used to be the signs of the lawyer in the United States.

Lack of Natural Resources

South of Athens, in the interior of the Peloponnesus, there is preserved a civilization which greatly antedates that of Athens; and there prevails a poverty that is not one of war depletion so much as of natural insufficiency. Here, in the vivid present, the environment proclaims the reasons for ancient Sparta's abstemiousness, simplicity, and severity. In what was old Lacedæmon, where Taygetus vies with Malevo, most of the sky line is broken by mountain heights, and most of the surface is covered with arid rocks. Arable land is scarce, and to augment its area, artificial means must be adopted. The stones that lie about in such abundance are built into fence-like formations on the mountain-side. Then come the winter rains, washing down the crumbled rock and the accumulated dust. Gradually the fence becomes the retaining wall of a terrace, and gradually the earth reaches a depth sufficient to be tilled. Countless numbers of such terraces can be seen all over the Peloponnesus, some of them no more than four square feet in surface. Small as they are, however, they are the natives' main sources of vegetable food.

Where the mountainsides are too steep for terrace cultivation—and they must be exceedingly steep to be neglected, the mountain-goat is herded. What a blessing it is that Nature achieved the goat! Greece has done well to immortalize in the term "tragedy" this creature which can convert into milk and meat the mountain-thistle and the rough, coarse herbage that other animals reject. Its milk is made into the omnipresent cheese, which is Greece's main source of protein; and its flesh is converted into all sorts of savory dishes to tempt the honored guest or to cheer the festal board.

Primitive Breadmaking

Brown bread and cheese are the main—one might almost say *only*—foods of rural Greece. And this brown bread, in its manufacture, illustrates again the primitiveness of life. It begins, of course, as wheat, barley or rye growing on one or many of the mountain terraces. When the season of harvest comes, usually late in July, its owner gathers it all by hand, and awaiting his turn, lays it, straw and grain, upon a stone threshing-floor grown smooth and shiny with centuries of use. There he drives over and over it a team of horses, donkeys, or cows—the animals are rented, much as a modern threshing-machine might be—until the grains are trampled from the ears. When the mass is sufficiently trodden, and the grains seem to be all out, the horses are withdrawn. The straw is then gathered to one side; and, still by hand, the grains are sifted and blown to separate them from the chaff.

The rest of the process of breadmaking is a matter not of farm, but of home economy. To the housewife belongs the business of seeing that the grain is ground; and she may have this done either in her own little hand-mill, or in a large stone mill to which a horse is attached, the animal being mercifully blindfolded so that his heart be not broken by the prospect of walking endlessly and getting nowhere. For the actual baking, there are built outside of the houses large ovens of stone and mortar. A Greek village, therefore, resembles nothing so much as a collection of houses and kennels. In the large central cavities of these structures fires are built and allowed to heat the entire mass of stone. Then the coals are raked out, the loaves are placed in, and the family baking for all the week is done.

Simplicity of Food and Clothing

The smaller home cooking—when a very unusual variation from the diet of bread and cheese calls for any—is, accomplished by means of a tripod placed over a small fire of twigs and leaves. Each peasant's house is provided with a bell-shaped smoke conductor that overshadows the hearth; but the preference is to build the fire not on the hearth but where the stone projects into the center of the room. The smoke finds its way out as well as it can; but more often it merely goes to join the innumerable layers of soot on the walls and ceiling, so that Greece to-day preserves the atrium of the early Indo-European house. In fact the agricultural methods and culinary practices of modern Greece, especially in the interior of the Peloponnesus, might serve some as a commentary on classical literature, and others as illustrative material for a time greatly antedating the classic period.

In keeping with the simplicity of the food is the simplicity of the clothing. The long, graceful robes of classic times have, of course, departed; but most of what the modern Spartan wears is of home manufacture. Carding, spinning, and weaving are still done by hand; and wherever one walks in the Peloponnesus, he is sure to see an old woman managing a ball of wool as big as herself. Unfortunately the impulses which gave the world the beauty of classical Greek design have waned; but even though the present patterns are mainly on the plane of geometric decorations, some of the native-woven products would fetch excellent prices in New York.

Amenities of Railroad Travel

In the heart of the Peloponnesus there is only the echo of the railroad whistle to remind one that he is not living in some by-gone age; but even Greece's railroads are not sufficient to remind one with anything approaching accuracy. The Greeks can, and do, handle sea-travel very well; but their railways leave much to be desired. Even at this date, when the advantages of the standard gauge railroads have been so widely acknowledged, Greece clings largely—in the Peloponnesus, entirely—to the narrow gauge. The engines and cars are for the most part made in Germany. What did not come from Germany came from France; but whatever their origin, both engines and cars are so antiquated as to be

strikingly uncomfortable for either Americans or Greeks. It is not ignorance, however, which causes the country to keep this miserable equipment, but a lack of money wherewith to purchase any other.

Perhaps more primitive than the equipment is the way of running the railroads. In some respects it is characterized by an almost Oriental disregard for the flight of time. Schedules are made with surprising elasticity; nearly always there is no relation between the stops scheduled and the number actually made; and at almost any moment on a long journey the engineer may halt the train while the crew go down to some wayside spring for refreshment. Naturally, long extents of time are required to cover short spaces. For instance, it once took me fourteen hours to go from Tripolis to Athens—a distance which an American train could traverse with ease in four hours.

Although railroad journeys in Greece are all long, little or no provision is made for the comfort of the travelers. Drinking water is not provided; toilets are either entirely absent, or so unspeakably filthy as to be unusable when present; and not a single dining-car did I see in Greece.

Food and drink the Greek usually takes with him on the train; and a compartment full of passengers resembles nothing so much as a party of folk out for a picnic. In the course of one journey I shared the compartment with an old lady who carried food, water, and wine for the breakfast, dinner, and supper of a day to be spent in the car. Another time there was with me a Greek family who had along what seemed all their household equipment, even a huge water jar and a basket of ducks and chickens. Whether these creatures were to be killed and cooked, I did not ride far enough to see.

Natural Curiosity of the Native

But if the railroads of Greece help to demonstrate her poverty, they also help to reveal her people's characteristics. There is nothing like a train ride to bring out strikingly the natural tendencies of the Greek. In curiosity and naiveté he is still



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A GREEK PEASANT FAMILY AT WORK IN THE FIELD

practically as Homer portrayed him. Once conversation is opened—and it is opened on the very slightest provocation—the most astoundingly personal questions may be asked. Outside of Athens—and often inside—the formal introduction is followed by "How old are you?" "What is your occupation?" "Is the lady with you your wife?" and numerous other questions which may not appear in American print. To feign ignorance of the language is no protection. If the foreigner cannot understand Greek, French will be tried upon him; and if this makes no impression, then and there lessons in Greek will be given free of charge until the victim has a vocabulary large enough to make replies, and to satisfy the Greek's curiosity. If one can pardon the innate childishness of the people, however, he is likely to be well treated, and to be given all the help one human can give another; for the Greek is kind-hearted to a fault.

Hospitality to Americans

It has been said that when Greek meets Greek neither party is apt to go out of his way in order to insure the other's comfort; but when Greek meets American he does his utmost to make the latter happy. Material comforts may be lacking; but the amount of thoughtfulness, helpfulness, and unmercenary kindness that the natives

show one is really beyond description. In comparison with the humane treatment, many of the circumstantial hardships sink into nothingness.

There are two reasons for the favor shown to Americans; and these reasons are partly economical; partly personal. In the first place, Greece must, in order to secure necessary supplies and commodities, keep on good terms with the United States, the country which now has most to export. Lines of Greek, British, and American ships, keep Greece in close communication with the New World; and on Stadium Street or Hermes Street, two of the busiest streets in Athens, can be bought almost anything that can be had in New York—from the ubiquitous Ford to the Prophylactic Tooth Brush, and at prices no greater than at home.

In the second place, there are in Greece to-day many people who went to America as young men or children, but, having made their fortunes, returned to their land of golden dreams. Now these people are spreading among their kinsmen the tales of kindly treatment and assistance in our land of opportunities. To these returned Greeks the meeting and helping of an American in Greece is a joy that cannot be appreciated except by one fortunate enough to see it.

To the American, however, this sort of Greek appears the victim of profoundly pathetic misfortunes. One typical instance will serve as an illustration. In Athens I met a man who in the States had gained a small fortune, a reputation for ability, and an enviable credit. A few years ago he had sold his business and had taken all his wealth with him to Greece. Here, however, the dreams he had conceived of a happy life of ease and plenty were soon dispelled by the rude awakening to the fact that Greece was war-ridden, impoverished, and—in comparison with the United States—unspeakably primitive. For two years he was made to do army service; and in those years he longed repeatedly for the plentitude of food, the fresh linens, and the cooling, unstinted baths to which he had been accustomed in America.

The Hard Lot of the Individual

With his dreams for happiness, too, went his fortune. At the time he returned to Greece, the drachma was exchanging at the rate of four to the dollar. Half his money he changed into Greek money then;

and a little later, when the exchange went as high as eight to the dollar, he changed the other half. Now the rate of exchange on the open market is as high, at times, as forty-four drachmae to the dollar; and the cost of living has soared in proportion to the rate of exchange. At least two hundred drachmae per person per day are required for life approaching comfort in Athens; and at such a rate, one can easily calculate the departure of the man's fortune.

The Nation's Economic Plight

This is a hard situation, indeed; but the sympathy and commiseration it provokes are the same feelings that the country as a whole awakens. One who knows what she once was cannot now think of her without exclaiming "Poor Greece!" "The glory that once was Greece" rests upon the country like a halo that illuminates her poverty; and the strange combinations of the ruins of a timeless past with the aspirations of modernity, the chaste beauty of ancient splendor with the squalor of to-day, the indications of past leadership in political ability with the headless tumultuousness of the present—all these strike the American observer as a mass that it is extremely difficult for him to accept as the direct descendant of Classic Greece.

What will become of Greece in the next few years is one of the big questions which confront the world. It was in order to secure some means of counteracting the inadequate state of resources in the homeland that Greece made such a desperate effort to hold Smyrna and Asia Minor; and it was for the same purpose that she obtained Thrace at the settlement of the World War. Smyrna is the chief port for the rich and manifold products of Asia Minor; and had Greece been able to hold her recent Asiatic territory—with the aid of the Allies, of course, until the time when the mere patrolling of the territory would no longer cost her her very life's blood—her economic difficulties would have been removed. With Smyrna, however, has been lost a main source of hope.

The Greeks of Asia Minor

In addition to the economic problem presented by Greece's loss of her Asiatic territory, there is also presented an important ethnic question. Will the Greeks of Europe maintain their kinship with the Greek-speaking people of Asia Minor? There are



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ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL BUSINESS STREETS OF MODERN ATHENS

between them the bonds of trade, and of common language and religion; but when one considers that their religion is likewise the religion of countless numbers of Slavonic peoples in eastern Europe, this bond ceases to be specifically Greek. In trade, also, the average Greek of Smyrna is more closely connected with Great Britain, France, and Italy than he is with Greece proper. Centuries of Turkish domination—and where the Turk has seen that it was materially to his advantage, that domination has often been highly conducive to prosperity—have almost deadened among the Asiatic Greeks the feelings of national relationship with their European members of the race. In fact, while I was in Athens, many of the people whom I saw transported for reasons of safety from the Asiatic war zone to Europe looked like Turks, were clad like Turks, and had many little characteristics of Turkish behavior. Although these people spoke Greek, I was informed that they required much persuasion to be made to believe that they were part and parcel of the European nation. Many Athenians, also, seemed to view these Asiatics with cordial hatred, and to regard them as foreigners who were the cause of Greece's troubles. The recent mutiny of the Greek troops, who left the Asiatic Greeks to the mercies of the Turks, may in a measure be taken as an indicator of national feelings.

Can Greek Nationality Be Developed?

Greece in antiquity was famous—or infamous—for her lack of national harmony; and it is doubtful whether she has even yet outgrown her ancient reputation. Since so much of the land is mountainous, most of her ancient seats of civilization grew up in isolated valleys, beyond whose confining walls earth seems to end. The country's topography, therefore, produced great individual independence; but at the same time it suppressed strong feelings of ethnic and national unity. Situated, also, on western civilization's border-land, Greece has been overrun by a large variety of races foreign to her original stock. Physical types, elements of conduct, and habits of mind have survived to the present from all these various peoples; and this complexity has made it difficult for Greece to form and support consistent national ideas and policies. It took the Turkish subjugation of the Balkan Peninsula to awaken the European Greeks to a consciousness of national entity and to make them try to fuse their varied elements into a united and independent nation. There is more than a chance, therefore, that Turkish control of the Greek-speaking people of Asia Minor may arouse them to a strong consciousness of kinship with the European Greeks, and to an effort to keep alive that kinship.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

Settlement Between Greece and Turkey Outlined

SOME of the English reviewers who have been most severe in criticism of the course taken by their own government in the Near East are now considering more calmly the possible outcome of the Turkish success and the lines of the territorial settlement that will now have to be made. In the *Contemporary Review* (London) for October Professor Arnold J. Toynbee, after asserting that all the blood that has been shed, and may still be shed, by the unhappy peoples of the Near East in this "war-after-the-war," is on the heads of the Allied governments and especially on the head of the British Government, ventures to discuss the coming settlement under three principal subdivisions: Anatolia, Thrace and the Straits.

In Anatolia, says Professor Toynbee, there will be little to do except to confirm what has already happened. Turkish sovereignty has actually been restored over the entire mainland of the Peninsula, up to the borders of the zone of the Straits. Furthermore, that sovereignty will not be restricted as formerly. It will now be the kind of sovereignty that is exercised by the governments of Western Europe:

Non-Turkish minorities will be secured neither more nor less than the status given by the recent peace-treaties to defeated, newly created or aggrandized states on the Continent. Resident aliens will be subject to the laws and the taxes of the country in which they have chosen to settle, and will no longer live there "extra-territorially" under the shelter of the Capitulations. Will the minorities and the foreign colonies emigrate rather than face this prospect? The present writer is inclined to think that a far larger percentage of them will remain than will be agreeable to anti-Turkish propagandists, and that even of those who have fled in the first panic, a considerable number will unobtrusively return. Certainly, if the exodus were anything like universal, Turkey would lose heavily in productivity and vitality, as Spain lost by the exodus of the Moors. In any case, the country will suffer for years from the decimation of all elements in the population which the Græco-Turkish War has brought in its train. But national survival depends on psychological as well as on physical conditions, and, after this military and moral triumph, the Turks can afford at least as well as the Australians, British Columbians or Californians to take

their time in building up a population commensurate with the rich and spacious "homelands" to which they have vindicated their title.

Thrace is a more difficult problem. The principle of self-determination gives no clear title there, since the different elements in the population were originally so evenly balanced and have been modified so often during the last ten years by expulsion and counter-expulsion. As to geographical considerations, while it may be granted that Turkey should have more of a European hinterland than was provided under the Treaty of Sèvres, it is also desirable, in her interests as well as those of her neighbors, that her frontiers should not be carried so far West as to involve her once again in the politics of Southeastern Europe. However that may be, the Turks will at least insist on the whole of Thrace, and it is known that France and Italy favor Turkey's territorial claims in Europe as well as in Asia.

Can such a disposition of Thrace be made compatible with the political stability of Southeastern Europe? Professor Toynbee's conclusion is that the restoration of Thrace to Turkey must prevent the use by Bulgaria and her potential partners of the railway running down the left or western bank of the River Maritsa.

The question of the Straits may be regarded as of far greater international importance than the others, but it would seem that the golden opportunity for a satisfactory settlement has been thrown away. Great Britain has lost the initiative, and the result will depend partly on Angora and partly on France. The present arrangement of a naval control by three powers is disliked by both the Turks and the French. From the French point of view, the alternative proposal for the complete neutralization and disarmament of the Straits has fewer objections than the present arrangement. The question is, can the Turks be expected to be as reasonable about the Straits after their military successes as they were prepared to be before them?

What Coal Means to Us

IN AN article which he contributes to the *Atlantic Monthly* for October Director George Otis Smith, of the Geological Survey, whom President Harding has recently appointed a member of the Coal Commission, presents a brief and highly suggestive analysis in the public interest in coal. He shows that while the individual citizen's consumption of pig iron and bar copper is roughly equal to his consumption of coal, those useful metals are not customarily purchased directly by the consumer himself. A rise in the price of iron or of copper makes no such impression upon the individual as does a rise in coal.

Dr. Smith proceeds to show that the public interest in coal is really far greater than that based on the use which we make of it in our homes. Of the six tons that measure the per capita consumption in the United States, less than one and a half tons are used for heating and cooking—the coal which we buy and whose price we know.

There is a large personal service that we receive daily from coal that we often overlook, if indeed we ever fully appreciate it. Coal comes into our homes, not only by way of the chute to the cellar bin, but over the wire, and through the pipes, and also, in no small amounts, by the kitchen door. Our electric current and gas and water and ice all represent coal—more coal than we are likely to realize. Into the house that I happen to know best, for example, there came in a single year thirteen and a third tons of bituminous coal, which was never seen by any member of my household, but

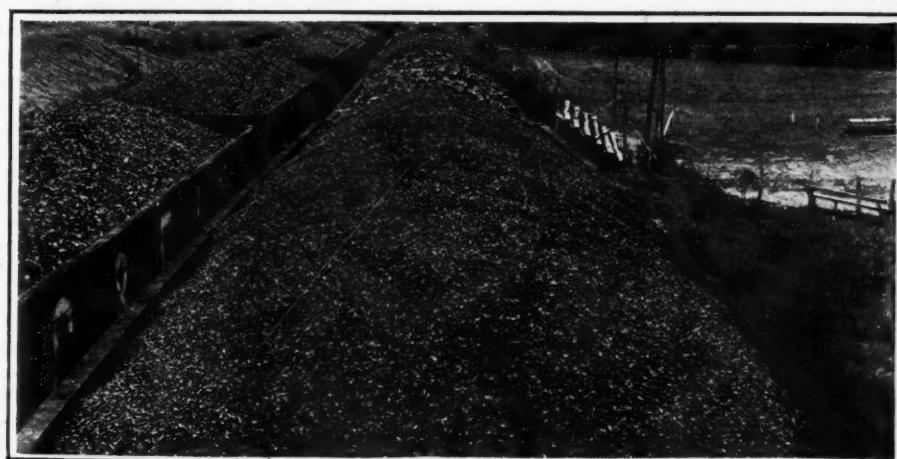
for which I had to pay, just as truly as I paid for the fifteen tons of anthracite I bought that year.

A study of the accounts for the year shows that one and one-fifth tons of coal had to be used at the power station, to furnish my electric current; more than four-fifths of a ton of coal at the ice factory, to make my ice; more than eleven tons of coal, or its equivalent in coke or oil, at the gas plant, to furnish the more convenient fuel in my home; and, even with a gravity system, one hundred and twenty pounds of coal at the city pumping station, to raise the water we used from filter plant to reservoirs. These thirteen tons of coal thus bring to a home of to-day what we call its modern conveniences—service rendered by energy-slaves, whose presence we forget, but who quietly do so much work that our grandfathers—and grandmothers—had to do for themselves.

This indirect consumption of coal, amounting to more than two tons a person in the household I have studied, is nearly as great as the direct consumption of coal for heating the same home; so that the visible coal I buy from the coal-dealer is only half of my supply; and, be it noted, the most of my invisible coal is received in the form of what we call public-utility service, for which I pay at publicly regulated rates.

Turning from the consideration of coal as a factor in domestic comfort, Dr. Smith directs our attention to a larger aspect of our coal supply:

Our industrial and transportation systems are built on a coal foundation: take coal away and the great structure that expresses all the material progress of which we as Americans are proud would be a useless thing. Coal we take too much as a matter of course; too seldom do we notice how it enters into the life of the nation. As we watch the railroad train passing, laden with coal, the truth of



LOADED COAL CARS LEAVING A MINE IN WEST VIRGINIA

(Six tons of coal are mined every year for each person in the United States—one-fourth being used in the home and the remainder by public utilities and industrial establishments)

the statistics of coal and the problem of its transportation should come home to us: 40 per cent. of all the freight loaded is coal, and the locomotives themselves consume more than a quarter of all the coal mined. For every five cars of coal that the railroads deliver to themselves, seven cars go to the boiler-house of factory, mill, or power plant, three and one-half cars to the dealers who deliver the coal to our homes for heating and cooking, and two other cars to the coke ovens and gas works; the rest of the coal is used at the mines for power, or taken to the seaboard for bunker or export. Almost every modern industrial and commercial activity depends upon coal for its motive power.

With coal unequally distributed among the nations, we find that the United States has far greater reserves than any other country. When, however, we come to compute the rate of consumption we may well hesitate to make definite prophecies. We know that fifty years ago the per capita consumption of coal in this country was one ton a year, and that now it is six tons. It is a gratifying fact that over 99 per cent. of our country's original supply is still unmined, but it is also true that in the past twelve years we have mined more coal than in the whole of the preceding century and a half.

To understand this startling increase in the consumption of coal, Dr. Smith tells us that we must look beneath the surface of every-day things:

The trace of coal is found everywhere in modern life. That large tonnage of unseen coal already

mentioned as entering our homes disguised as public-utility gas, electricity, and water is by no means the full measure of the domestic service rendered by coal. We know, for instance, that in the industrial zone between Boston and Washington—a relatively small area, in which, however, is concentrated one-fourth of the population of the United States—the bakeries use over half a million tons of coal a year for heat and power, the sugar refineries a million and a quarter tons, the manufacturers of other food products another million and a quarter tons, and the ice plants nearly three-quarters of a million tons. Indeed, fully seven per cent. of what is called industrial coal in this area is thus translated into food; so that, again in invisible form, more than ten thousand tons of coal come each day to our tables. To this extent is coal consumed outside the home in fact a food-necessity.

After examining certain economic abuses and irregularities in the coal industry, Dr. Smith goes to the root of the matter in this succinct paragraph:

Not only does the trouble in the coal industry include sins against both economic and moral law, but at bottom there has been a lack of vision of its true relation to the general welfare. In the present readjustment period, for example, the coal-operator, coal-miner, and coal-merchant have too often failed to see that the price at which coal sells becomes a first item of cost in the great productive industries, so that the general recovery of business for which everyone prays is conditioned by the trend in coal. If the coal industry fails to keep down prices, what hope is there in other industries? No other producers exert a more general influence; and this relation of the coal industry to the general welfare carries the larger obligation to the nation.

Russian Transportation Under the Soviet

THE deplorable condition of Russian transportation, based on *official* Soviet figures, is shown by J. Domavat in the current issue of *L'Est Européen* (Warsaw, Poland).

In vast Russia, which is chiefly colonial, good transportation is an essential. Prior to 1917 (the Revolution) 73,112 versts¹ of railroads were in operation, 14,387 under construction. The Soviet received 63,482 versts in normal (Russian) operation (i.e., in some sections, one mixed train every three to eight days).

The Soviet divided the systems into three groups. The first (35 per cent., or 23,000 versts) was 100 per cent. efficient; the second (15 per cent., or 10,000 versts) feeder lines, not fully equipped; the third (45 per cent., or 28,000 versts) badly equipped and suspended entirely during the winter of 1920-21.

¹ A verst is about two-thirds of a mile.

A few express trains in section one were from twelve to fifteen hours late in winter. Freight trains decreased from 12,111 cars every twenty-four hours, to 8968 in September of the same year. The previous mean-car movement daily was 15,308; contrast 10,614 as the mean in 1921. This was due in part to decreased production of flour, grain, sugar and salt.

Failure to replace sleepers lowered the speed of nine-tenths of the roads. In 1921, 30,000,000 new sleepers were required, 7,000,000 laid. As ties last but seven years a 15 per cent. yearly replacement is required, yet but 5 per cent. were renewed. Of the 28,000,000 required for 1922 but 15,000,000 could be promised, to be supplied by private concerns lacking finances and proper facilities.

For railway superstructures but 28 per cent. of the necessary materials were avail-

able in 1920. Railroad building (structures) was practically stopped in 1921 from lack of material; bridges destroyed during the war were only partially replaced, and those in a temporary manner.

Single-tracking of double-track roads, removing rails from northern to southern roads, supplied some rail deficiencies. In 1920, 239 versts of rails were furnished to cover 2910 versts requiring new rails; in 1921, 133 for a requirement of 1921 (4 per cent. efficiency).

In 1910, 20,000 locomotives were in good condition and operation; in 1921 (autumn), but 2000 were operating. This was due to inability to make repairs from scarcity of material and skilled labor.

In October, 1921, of 24,942 passenger coaches 9890 were damaged: a large number of the remainder were in the use for offices and houses of Soviet officials. Passengers traveled in freight cars (28 per cent. of them absolutely useless). Out of 309,527 freight cars a maximum of 60,000 were fit for grain transportation. Freight cars were classed as (1) those practically whole, (2) those with bodies damaged (used for crated goods), and (3) those with roofs broken, used for cheap merchandise.

Failure of the Supreme Council of Popular Economy to supply materials led the Commissariat of Communications, in 1922, to give it no more repair work of rolling stock, while stations, pumps, water towers are falling to pieces—with no replacements.

Previous to the war, wood was the fuel for two-thirds of the locomotives, in 1918 sufficient reserves of seasoned wood existed, but in 1921 all was exhausted and green wood substituted. It had two defects—slight calorific value and great weight. In February, 1922, only one hour's supply of wood was available—in March, but eight days. Wood was requisitioned from all territory within one-half kilometer of the railroads, as none could be received by water from a distance until autumn. Lack of fuel retired 2000 locomotives from ser-

A RUSSIAN FREIGHT CAR

vice. Wood supplies fell off 30 per cent. from 1921 figures.

Coal was scanty and of poor quality, due to inefficient methods of production. Oil cannot be supplied through lack of tank cars: where available it cannot be utilized through absence of proper burners. Constant change of fuel administration adds to all other difficulties.

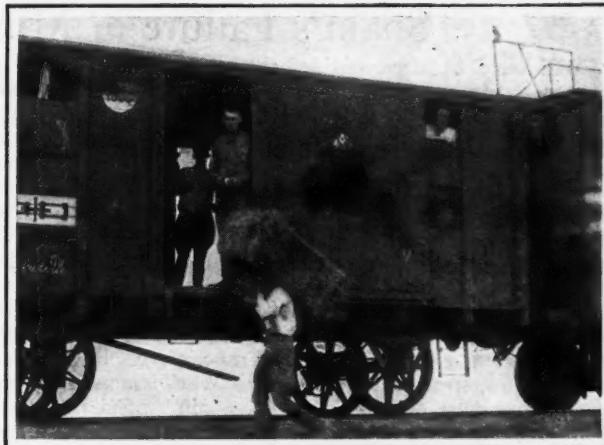
In March, 1922, but 29 per cent. of the wood and 22 per cent. of the coal necessary was available.

The horoscopes for 1922 on the question of fuel are not bright, especially as the actual deficit will surely surpass this theoretical forecast.

In 1913 the personnel was 12.3 per verst, in 1921 18.4, yet transportation had fallen to one-third—while the personnel increased one and a half. The personnel has been weakened by summary removals of the most expert officials and workmen, Soviet hangers-on replacing them. Add to this the system of forced labor, non-payment of salaries (dating back to the previous November) in March, 1922, amounting to fourteen trillions, seven hundred billions of Soviet rubles. Pillage of freight and smuggling by railway employees gave them funds to sustain life.

No new men are being trained in railroading—a gloomy prospect for reconstruction and rehabilitation of the roads.

The above is but a part of the truth—immediate and radical improvement must take place if Russia is to recover.



Spain's Failure in Morocco

THE loss of hundreds of lives, the use of 160,000 troops, the expenditure of 500 millions of pesetas, have failed to solve the Morocco problem. "Governmental ineptitude is the fundamental cause of the disaster," according to Señor Salvador Canals, in the current issue of *Nuestro Tiempo* (Madrid).

Spain's protectorate covers a littoral strip of Morocco from Chafarinas to Ceuta, to prevent foreign occupation. A successful administration requires (1) military force and (2) public works. Against France's fifty millions, spent during the Great War in civil improvements in Morocco, Spain spent nothing, nor did she strengthen her military position.

In the field an army without a plan of campaign, lacking roads, wasting money, food, infected with sloth and cowardice (from above), was backed by a ministry in disagreement. The pacifist view of the situation is untenable because the Beni Urriaguel and Abd-el-Krim campaigns were aggressive, not defensive. On the other hand, at Melilla, stern measures were advised and adopted, turning those tribes into foes. Attacked, they said, "You punish and hurt us? Why do you not go to Beni Urriaguel?" Moorish traitors were welcomed by the Spanish army attacking other Moors: friends were thus converted into foes. No plan was formulated by the ministry or War Office to treat the problem as a whole—for some desired to use force, others civil measures.

Sentimentality, failure to punish the guilty tribes, inaction, lack of agreement with France, all weakened Spain's position. How

can the land be held if the bay is unprotected? Spanish domination cannot be maintained with the Beni Urriaguel and intermediate tribes undefeated, yet the government was undecided as to settlement by war or peaceful methods! The King and the Army sought the first, the politicians the second, with the ministry disunited. With such divided councils success was impossible.

General Berenguer, despite military ability and knowledge of the Moors, was irresolute. Excessive caution marred his campaign from the first. Had the government possessed a definite plan this general could have been superseded by an abler man. On the other hand had Berenguer forced positive action and held the government accountable, he could have won his campaign. Inaction and failure was the result of lack of harmony between all branches of the government.

Under the government of Señor Sanchez Guerra, a strong desire was expressed by Señor Cambó to save money by a cessation of military action, substitution of civil action being suggested. He stressed "Iberian and Pan-Hispanic ideals"—while Morocco, undefeated, was to be protected from a limited coastal zone and civil work abandoned. He ignored the danger to retreating troops and the impossibility of administering a rebellious country afterward—in short he was casting a vote for the abandonment of Morocco.

His view was opposed by Señors Maurea, Cierva, Conde de Romanones, and the president of the council; but they gave no solution except vague statements that a



USE OF MODERN EQUIPMENT BY THE SPANISH FORCES IN MOROCCO

transition to civil means of settlement was desirable.

The government, on its side, speaking with all sincerity, with absolute clarity said . . . "The existence of a rebel focus at Beni Urriaguel is not an obstacle to the commencement of the protectorate. . . . A period of transition will precede the protectorate, during which positions will be abandoned, following a fixed plan." What a lamentable confusion of words and concepts!

It is not to be supposed that the territory covered by this protectorate, established in 1912, will agree to such peaceful domination. With armies withdrawn and politics substituted for force Spain will not be recognized as protector nor feared as master.

While one focus of rebellion exists no protection can be given the people adjacent to such a focus. Raisuli will continue, in the West, his indirect domination and disturbing influence, and in the East Beni Urriaguel will exert a sinister influence, in inverse ratio to his distance, from Kert to Gomara. How, then, can a protectorate be established or maintained?

The problem must be solved by the eradication of all foci of rebellion by an ineluctable attack of Alhucemas and Beni Urriaguel, with a military force backed by a united government: it cannot be settled by political debates.

Immigration Restrictions

SOME of the larger aspects of the immigration problem are considered by Prof. Robert De C. Ward in the *Scientific Monthly* for October. At the outset he shows that it is an error to assume that our "traditional policy" has been to provide an asylum and a haven of refuge for the poor and the oppressed of every land. From the very foundation of the republic there has been shown a desire that there should be some restriction. Washington questioned the advisability of immigration, except of certain skilled mechanics. Jefferson expressed the wish that there were an ocean of fire between this country and Europe, so that it might be impossible for any more immigrants to come here.

It is true that immigration was welcomed and encouraged for many years because it was regarded as a source of national

strength. The country was sparsely settled, there was much free land, and an insufficient amount of labor. The immigrants in the early decades of the national history were few and of sturdy stock.

Professor Ward shows how this ideal in course of time came into conflict with changing economic and social conditions:

In the face of cold, hard, present-day facts it has had to be abandoned. These facts are that the supply of public lands is exhausted; that acute labor problems have arisen; that immigration has increased enormously and fundamentally changed its character; that our cities are congested with aliens; that we have failed to assimilate them, and that large numbers of mentally and physically unfit have come to our shores. Our so-called traditional policy began, in fact, to be abandoned almost fifty years ago, when Congress first put up the bars against certain classes of economically and morally undesirable aliens. It is now obvious that our "asylum" has become crowded with alien insane and



FUTURE AMERICAN CITIZENS

(Group of immigrant children, representing ten different nationalities, photographed together at Ellis Island)

alien feeble-minded; that our "refuge" is a penitentiary well filled with alien paupers and criminals.

The un-American policy is not restriction but indiscriminate hospitality to immigrants. It is un-American for us to permit any such influx of alien immigrants as will make the process of assimilation and amalgamation of our foreign population any more difficult than it already is. It is for the best interests of the alien as well as of America that our immigrants should be numerically restricted and wisely and carefully selected.

As to the "melting-pot" idea, Professor Ward takes the ground that what goes into the "melting-pot" determines what shall come out of it.

If we put into it sound, sturdy stock; akin to the pioneer breed which first peopled this country and founded its institutions; if these new stocks are not only sound physically but alert mentally, then we shall develop a new race here, worthy to carry on the ideals and traditions of the founders of this country. But if the material fed into the melting pot is a polyglot assortment of nationalities, physically, mentally and morally below par, then there can be no hope of producing anything but an inferior race.

To the argument that each of the different alien peoples coming here has something to contribute to American civilization, Professor Ward replies that there is nothing in biological discovery which would lead us to hope that only the virtues of the races which are going to make up the future American will survive, and the vices be eliminated. In fact, the vices and the undesirable qualities are just as likely to survive as the virtues. Speaking of the racial aspects of the immigration question, General Leonard Wood has said: "The American cement has about all the sand it will stand."

The need of farm labor in this country is often emphasized, but Professor Ward points out that even if many thousands of aliens were actually distributed where there is lack of farm laborers, the majority of them would not be effective. We do need highly intelligent labor, skilled in our farming methods and able to manage modern farm machinery. Ignorant, unskilled, non-English-speaking foreigners would not meet the need.

It is said that "cheap labor" is needed to man our factories and mines and build our railroads, but Professor Ward contends that cheap foreign labor is often dear at any price; that it is usually in the long run socially and politically very expensive; and that a tremendously rapid development of our country is by no means altogether desirable. The vital question, after all, is not how fast can we possibly develop the country, but how best can we develop it.

It is of vital consequence that the quality of these human beings who come to us from other lands should be of the best, so that they shall not injure but improve our stock. Every day that passes witnesses the landing on our shores of aliens whose coming here is absolutely certain to result in a deterioration of the mental and physical standards of the American race of the future.

The assumption that we can safely admit as many immigrants as can be industrially assimilated, is a mistaken one. The real questions are: How many can be politically assimilated; how many can be thoroughly Americanized; and what sort of contribution are they likely to make in the development of our future race?

Woman's Position in China as Viewed by a Catholic Missionary

THE exotic charm of vermillion lacquer and sapphire blue with yellow satin, the tinkling of crystal wind bells and the swaying form of a painted idol—that is the little woman who is now to cast votes for the Chinese Parliament. Our poets have translated her laments as royal princess descending staircases of jade, as mother from whom her little girl has been torn, as young girl submissive but unhappy with a cruel stepmother, and as bride maltreated by a malicious, domineering old mother-in-law. In a word, she is to our mind pitiful when

young and successful only when old and wicked, like the Empress Dowager, of unsavory memory.

Spain's women are disenfranchised to an extent little realized by foreigners on account of a certain severity of social customs which they themselves uphold, and it is a Spanish missionary, Padre José Revuelta Blanco, in *España y America* who believes that the happy lot of his countrywomen is coming soon for his Celestial flock.

The Church, with its usual sagacity in the mission field, has opened orphanages for



A CHINESE BRIDAL PARTY

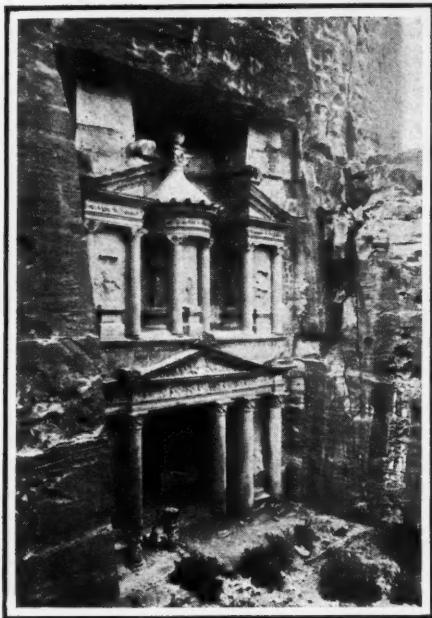
the unwanted children of the poor, and hundreds of thousands of little girls have been saved from death by exposure or strangling, since the parents know they will be cared for by the foreign fathers. The birth of a girl is still considered a misfortune, and sometimes leads to quarrels and even to separation between the married pair. But Padre Revuelta Blanco has observed that this sentiment has changed to the extent that the girls retain their parents' affection, as the poor country folk often come on festival days to see their children at the orphanages and bring them sweet-meats or a little money. Which proves at least that even among the masses the girl is no longer merely a chattel. The matrimonial system with the loveless marriages and absolute submission to the will of the parents is not so abhorrent to the Chinese mind as to ours, imbued as it is with filial piety and reverence for ancient custom.

Another erroneous notion generally held is that Chinese women are sold in marriage by their families. The father-in-law of a young widow does indeed exact a certain sum from her second bridegroom as compensation for the expenses he has been put to on her account, but it is no more a sale than the *dot* settled on a young girl in

France. Padre Revuelta Blanco does not deny that there are cases in which unhappy young women have fallen into the hands of an ambitious and cruel mother-in-law who does not scruple to sell her to an old man for a handful of money, and there are also cases in which this admirer is powerful, when he neither woos nor parleys but exacts and threatens with ruin. In these cases the young widow is without recourse, for the scales of Chinese justice fall to the side where gold is heaped, but she has only to bear her oppressor a son and she ascends the dais of contented ruler of the household.

The Chinese woman must have registered in her nervous system that longing for a man child common to her race, as to the Hebrew race. So if she survive (and since she has the vote she will now survive) though she give up all the beauty and charm and silken luxury of bound feet, palanquin and many maid-servants for the sweater and brogues and horn-rimmed spectacles of her sisters educated at Barnard and Vassar, she will probably for many years be in the rear-guard of the woman movement. The advance of medical education through the Rockefeller Board seems of more immediate moment to her than the achievement of the vote.

The Ancient City of Petra



THE FAMOUS "TREASURY" AT PETRA

LIKE Mecca, also in Arabia, and Lassa in Thibet, Petra, or Wady Musa, was until recently one of the "forbidden cities" of the world. It lies in northern Arabia, about midway between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba, the northern branch of the Red Sea. It occupies a narrow, rocky valley, overhung by the so-called Sacred Mountains of Edom. It is actually cut out of rock, like the cliff-dwellings of Southwestern United States.

In a description of the city, which he contributes to the September number of the *Open Court* (Chicago), Mr. Roy P. Lingle says:

The rocky ramparts, abrupt on the outer edges, are further guarded by a natural barbican of rugged pinnacles and deep fissures surrounding the stronghold. From the east, through the bewildering maze, winds a stream fringed with wild-fig trees and oleanders, leading past the rock-cut tombs of the valley to the labyrinthine entrance of the city. Plunging past the octagonal portals, the waters rush under the ruins of an arch through a hidden entrance in the towering cliff. This is the Sik, a narrow *crevasse* in the mountain. Away back in the remote past some great cataclysm, or convulsion of Nature, must have split this passage. Through it flows the water from the spring Ain Musa. Tradition links this fountain with the name of Moses. The Koran calls it the "water of strife"

or "well of judgment," where Moses struck the rock. Another Mohammedan version, doubtless arising from the crimson coloring of the streambed, identifies it as a fountain flowing with blood which Moses miraculously changed to water. According to this legend, the cleft itself, several miles in length and in places almost a thousand feet deep, was opened by a single stroke of the magic rod. Hence the name Wady Musa, or watercourse of Moses. It forms the most original and tortuous approach to any city in the world.

The city of Sela, or the "Rock-Cleft," mentioned several times in the Books of Kings, Isaiah, Judges and Chronicles, was long identified as Petra. But modern scholars are not satisfied with this identification, and it may be said to be an open question. After their conquest by David and other Hebrew warriors, the Edomites disappeared from history, and were supplanted by the Nabatheans, originally a nomadic Arab tribe. In 311 B. C. the Greeks made several unsuccessful attempts to take the city. They called it Petra, or the "Rock," and named the surrounding region Idumea. Petra became the center of caravan trade, with routes leading to Egypt, eastern Arabia, the Persian Gulf and Palestine.

For centuries fabulous wealth poured into this narrow valley, scarcely a mile square even with its lateral clefts. Kings, queens and conquerors entered to gaze upon the rock-cuttings and inscriptions of the Nabatheans and to revel in their pomp. The King of Arabia issued from the gloomy gorge at the head of fifty thousand men to lay siege to Jerusalem. Secure in power and wealth, the Nabatheans forgot the curse hovering over Mount Seir, or only laughed at the fanatical Hebrew prophets.

Again came a change. The Romans, relentlessly pushing back their boundaries, attained the utmost confines of their domains. Under the Emperor Trajan, in 106 A. D., Cornelius Palma, Governor of Syria, conquered and organized the province of Arabia Petraea. Petra reached the zenith of its glory. The Romanized population is said to have numbered two hundred and sixty-seven thousand. The indomitable Romans pushed three additional roads over the ramparts through rock portals into the heart of the city, one leading south to Egypt and two north to Palestine and the Hellespont. In lines sweeping grandly and imperturbably over Syria, the basaltic blocks and milestones still remain as monuments to the engineering skill that joined Arabia and Britain, the farthest limits of imperial Rome. Aqueducts conveyed the water down the now-paved Sik. On the plain arose temples, a forum, baths, palaces, arches of triumph, in all varieties of classic architecture. Taking their cue from the Nabatheans the Romans continued the rock-cuttings. Tombs, temples, palaces and treasury vaults grew in the marvelously colored rock walls. These still remain, long after the structures

in the valley have toppled and crumbled into ruin. The most beautiful mural monuments of Petra date from the Roman occupation. An altar niche in Al Deir—"The Convent"—gives proof of Christian worship. Evidences of the strength of Christianity in these regions are remarkable. Presumably the persecutions of Diocletian drove many exiles from Rome to the provinces. But again the veil of mystery covers the possible greatness of Petra as a Christian outpost.

As a center of wealth and luxury, however, the city could scarcely be surpassed. Rome and Athens, in their days of grandeur as world capitals, rest secure in fame by their contributions in art, law and philosophy. Petra, remote and unsung, shared in the classic culture. A Greek amphitheater, seating five thousand persons, is carved at the base of a cliff in strata of rose, purple and saff-

ron sandstone. Around and above are hewn the tombs of the dead. In this appropriate setting an audience might witness the tragedies of Sophocles, Aeschylus and Euripides and solemnly meditate upon the immanence of death; or riotously applaud the comedies of Aristophanes, Plautus and Terence to forget the tragedy of life and the inexorable fate that overhung the city.

From the second century on, no written records of Petra's history have survived. It was conquered by the Moslems in the seventh century, and gradually fell into ruins. For centuries the very site was unknown to Europeans until it was discovered by Burckhardt in 1811.

Archæology in Palestine

THE leading article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (St. Louis) for October will be of value to all those who are especially interested in the ancient topography and history of Palestine. Dr. W. F. Albright, director of the American Institute of Archæology in Jerusalem, gives a clear, untechnical résumé of all important excavations carried on in the Holy Land by various nations since 1890, when Dr. Petrie first sunk his shaft, at Lachish, through the seven strata of débris representing so many epochs and successive cities, and so, chiefly by the shards of pottery, "established the main periods of the archæological history of Palestine." However, the richest sites seem to be still untouched, and hardly one has been exhaustively investigated. The German and Austrian scholars are seriously missed from this field of friendly international rivalry. The chief hope of the immediate future seems to be centered in the well-equipped expedition from Chicago University.

The pioneers of American archæology, during their preliminary survey at Assos, invariably found their stakes pulled up overnight, and hasty holes dug by the native Turks or Greeks to secure the expected hidden gold. But it is certainly curious to find, so late as 1909, "an English adventurer, Captain Parker, supported by a wealthy syndicate of treasure-seekers," actually bribing his way into places in Jerusalem especially sacred to both Christian and Moslem to dig for mythical ancient gold-hoards. He, however, created such popular indignation that a general massacre of foreigners was to be feared,

while the gallant treasure-seeker himself fled from the land in utmost haste.

The general reader will enjoy the enthusiastic eulogy on the victories of the spade in the opening paragraphs. Since Layard and Mariette, and even since Schliemann, "archæology has gone on from surprise to surprise, from triumph to triumph . . . the laws of human progress are now clear. . . . To this science we owe the complete re-writing of history on the basis of contemporary monumental evidence, instead of depending upon later philosophical romance."

Still it should be remembered that many historians have built on contemporary documentary evidence. Motley's, Bancroft's, Parkman's work will hardly be made worthless in future centuries by any excavations; nor will Kings and Chronicles.

Our last quotation will demand no comment, unless it be remarked that the master in philosophy, ethics, sociology, literature, or even the dethroned political historian—not to mention the preacher, the lawyer, or the statesman—will certainly advance each his own rival claims against those of the less modest than "reverent" archæologist:

All plans for excavation were rudely interrupted by the war, which might so easily have been avoided if men had heeded the lessons of the past. It is precisely this lack of understanding for the past which permits nations to hurl themselves madly toward certain ruin. The hand of God is always on the helm of human progress, and none can see it so plainly as the reverent archæologist, whose one great aim is to know the past as it really was, and to deduce the laws which govern the development of man toward that ultimate goal which the Creator has set for him.

Sections and Nation

IN the current number of the *Yale Review* appears a thoughtful article by Professor Frederick J. Turner, of Harvard, whose studies of our national development have given him a place of leadership among American historians. The purpose of the article is to show that the groups of American States, which we term sections, have an importance and dignity of their own in relation to the nation itself. He reminds us that England, France and Italy could be placed within the boundaries of the old thirteen States along the Atlantic Coast, and that the Middle West could find room for all the European powers which joined Germany in her efforts to conquer Europe.

Furthermore, it must be remembered, that each of our sections—New England, the Middle States, the Southeast, the Southwest, the Middle West, the Mountain and Plains States, the Pacific Coast—has its own special geographical qualities, its own resources and economic capacities, and its own rival interests.

In some ways, in respect to problems of common action, we are like what a United States of Europe would be. It is true that the differences are not by any manner of means so marked here as in Europe. There are not in the United States the historic memories of so many national wrongs and wars, nor what Gilbert Murray calls the "Satanic spirit" of reliance upon force. There is not here the variety of language and race nor the sharp contrast in cultural types; there has not been the same bitterness of class conflicts; nor the same pressure of economic need, inducing the various regions to seek by arms to acquire the means of subsistence, the control of natural resources. The burden of history does not so weigh upon America. The section does not embody the racial and national feeling of the European state, its impulse to preserve its identity by aggression conceived of as self-defense. But there is, nevertheless, a faint resemblance.

The American section may be likened to the shadowy image of the European nation, to the European state denatured of its toxic qualities. In the relations of European nations with each other, making due allowance for the deep differences, we may find means of understanding some of our own problems. Perhaps, even, we may find in our handling of such problems suggestions of a better way for Europe.

From Colonial days to the Civil War, Professor Turner finds that the policies of the leading statesmen rested on the necessity of considering the conflicting interests of the various sections and adjusting them by bargains, compromises and arrange-

ments for balance of power in Congressional legislation. There is abundant evidence of persistent sectionalism in party contests and Congressional action in our history:

The more the reader will probe into the distribution of votes and the utterances of statesmen and editors, the more he will see that sectionalism was the dominant influence in shaping our political history upon all important measures—not the sectionalism of North and South alone, but a much more complex thing, a sectionalism also of East and West, and of East North Central and West North Central States, shifting as economic and social conditions changed, but persistently different from the East.

Since the Civil War the West has been settled, creating new sections, and all the important political contests have revealed the same interplay of section with section:

The sectional wings of the Republican party in the 'seventies exhibited a New England ultraconservative; a Middle Atlantic transitional and divided; a North Central for free silver. In the later 'eighties the East North Central division divided and finally joined the North Atlantic States against free silver, but swung to the side of the West North Central group on the question of terminating the Silver Purchase Act. It was a mediating section with a balance of power, but responsive to party discipline.

Problems of trust regulation, free silver, banking, tariff, and devices to secure popular government have led to sectional contests. Roosevelt's "square deal" held the Eastern and Western wings of the Republicans together for a time, but when President Taft after hesitation turned to the conservative Eastern wing, insurgency followed, and the Middle West became, in his words, "enemy country." The Western program of primary elections, popular election of United States Senators, initiative, referendum, recall—all the devices for direct popular participation in government—resulted in a party rebellion which broke the power of the Speakership and overthrew the rule of the elder statesmen in the Senate. All these are familiar examples of the new forces. They found their strength in the Middle West and Pacific Coast, and finally made a split in the Republican party, resulting in the formation of the Progressives under Roosevelt.

Even to-day, with the improvements in communication—the automobile, the telephone, radio and the moving pictures—it seems that localism has been diminished rather than sectionalism. Class conflict and sectional conflict often coincide. Yet, Professor Turner concludes that the power of the section in our politics is conditioned largely upon its moderation. Public opinion, in the last analysis, responds to national ideals.

The Catholics in Jugoslavia and Their Present Difficulties

THE long article under this heading in the *Correspondant* (Paris) for September 25th is avowedly official, and a special plea, being signed by M. E. Beaupin, as "Secretary of the Catholic Committee on Friendly Relations with Other Lands." It is most moderate and conciliatory in tone, while its very frankness makes doubly clear that the grievances in question are by no means perilous to the unity or stability of the young nation. An earlier article noted in this department (January, 1922) had discussed the scant majority by which the constitution was accepted in June, 1921, after a large secession of Croatian and Slovenian delegates, and the determined opposition in these former Austrian dependencies to the rapid centralizing policy of the Serbian monarchy and cabinet. Croatia, in particular, regards its metropolis, Zagreb, as a center of Slavic culture and racial life fairly rivaling Belgrade. The demand for a revival in each state of the former legislature, with large autonomous powers, is repeated in the present paper—with especial emphasis on the local control of state relations to interdenominational problems.

Serbia proper is traditionally affiliated with the Greek Church, though now reorganized under a purely national primacy, with a strong tendency also to secularize popular education, much as in France, and also to proclaim the equality of men of all confessions, or none, in every civic relation. The northern states have had far closer relations with Italy as well as with Austria. They regard themselves as distinctly Latin or Western, not Greek, in their culture. So the triple cleft, political, cultural and theological, still marks the division between old Serbia, Montenegro, etc., on one hand, and their Slavic kinsmen who fought—in large measure perforce—for Hapsburg in the World War.

The writer gives in much detail, however, examples of the long, persistent efforts made by the Romanist clergy and bishops under the Empire for Jugoslavic freedom and unity, of their determined struggle against Rome itself for the use of Slavonic in the liturgy, and even of their often-avowed hopes for a complete future union of the

two chief church bodies in Jugoslavia. This last, however, is surely premature, if not hopeless, the asserted supremacy of Rome and the infallibility dogma hardly leaving ground for any compromise short of surrender and absorption.

The Catholics constitute 38 per cent. of the total population, the Orthodox (Greek) communicants 42 per cent. The next largest mass is Mohammedan, themselves mostly of Slavic stock, a dozen times more numerous than either Jews or Protestants (each about 130,000). This Mussulman element of 1,500,000 would therefore hold the balance of power in any mere churchly division. The constitution actually secured its narrow majority only by large economic concessions to this very group, though most of the votes came from a fusion of the two chief Serbian parties, the "Radicals" and the "Democrats," both of course prevailingly Orthodox.

It is true, also, that the discontent is chiefly among those who as Croats oppose centralization, and also as Catholics feel themselves discriminated against. Everywhere, however, and among all confessions, there is a large anti-dynastic and republican element, besides the Socialists, the Bolsheviks and the faithful followers of the erratic Raditch, whose political creed is as difficult to delineate as Mr. Hearst's or Mr. Borah's.

The first avowed grievance of the Catholics may seem almost amusing: it was an order by the Minister of Instruction putting gymnastic and athletic work in the public schools under the rules of the "Sokol," which, beginning as a sort of patriotic National Athletic Association or Turnverein for all Slavic lands, seems to have fallen of late years largely into the control of "Free-thinkers." More serious is an attack on the arrangement under which the religious instruction is given by the clergy (or nuns) of each faith to their own children. In particular, a ceremonial which included individual confession was put, with all the other exercises in school-hours, under the personal surveillance and control of the regular teachers, largely Orthodox and Jews.

It is declared that even Jews and Protestants share much more liberally than the

Catholics in state grants. (Apparently bishops of all faiths are entirely dependent on the treasury for their stipends.) The recent agrarian laws are almost as confiscatory in many cases as those of the Bolsheviks. Great estates, up to 1500 acres, have been entirely taken away from Catholic monasteries which also supported hospitals, schools, etc., and distributed to peasants at absurdly small rentals, rarely paid; while the compensatory grant to the monastery is not even sufficient, if actually received, to cover the taxes, which are still assessed upon it!

All this and much more, set forth in detail, but in dignified and moderate language, and signed by all the members of a general Catholic synod, certainly look like

spoliation, if not persecution, of the great minority body. A committee of general inquiry, including two Romanist bishops, has just been selected by the Belgrade government, and there is a prospect of remedial action and of a conciliatory future policy.

Meantime, the closing assurance as to the Catholic clergy and laity rings true:

Their Jugoslavic loyalty is as ardent as in the happy days of 1918. "We entered into the State lovingly," writes one of them, "and so we desire to remain in it, but we wish our Catholic convictions to be respected." That is our aspiration. We have not forgotten the sacrifices made by the Serbs during the war for the common cause. They too should remember the aid we have given them. Let them not dissipate in barren confessional strife the fruits of the victory which is at once theirs and ours.

Uncle Sam as a Destroyer of "Varmints"

IT may be a bit difficult for the average citizen—especially if he happens to live east of the Mississippi—to realize that one of Uncle Sam's important and difficult jobs recently, has been the hunting down and exterminating of wild animals—wolves, coyotes (prairie wolves), bobcats (bay linx) mountain lions (puma), bears, and like predatory beasts. Yet so much so has this been the case that the subject has been considered in the serious and scientific "Year Book" of the Department of Agriculture, and the article (by W. R. Bell, assistant biologist of the Biological Survey) recently has been republished by the Survey in a special pamphlet. The title of the article is "Hunting Down Stock Killers," which sounds like the name of a motion picture film, but the process, as conducted, is far more serious business.

On the first page of the pamphlet is shown the reproduction of a photograph of a big touring car, loaded with dead wolves, while a hunter stands alongside holding up a dead wolf, by a hind leg. It doesn't look much like a picture of a "joy-ride"; and Mr. Bell remarks:

In man's introduced herds of cattle, sheep, goats, colts and other domestic stock, the original rangers of the country found a ready supply to be preyed upon day after day and night after night. What more natural than for the hungry wolf to draw upon the ever-replenished reservoir discovered in the stock corral or the open range? The nature of the business upon which the predatory kind were engaged was no secret, of course, and gun, trap,

and poison were resorted to by the early ranchers, each man for himself, with now and then a community hunt as the needs were more pressing. Learning that they had to contend with protectors of their new-found food supply, the prowlers became more and more wary in approach and kill, until what originated in a mere matter of satisfying a craving for food, has developed into a war to the death.

Uncle Sam, tired of the drain on his resources of \$20,000,000 to \$30,000,000 every year through the slaughter of domestic stock by predatory animals, now keeps constantly in the field a force of hunters who are instructed to wipe out these nonproducers. In their place, and safe from their depredations, it is the aim to populate the range country with flocks and herds, and in this way to lower the cost of production of live-stock and of meat that goes on the family table.

In some persons the picture of that motor car, full of dead wolves, and the picture elsewhere of the heaps of pelts of dead predatory animals, will arouse a twinge of pity and something very like indignation, that these creatures should be slain because they had eaten when they were hungry; and they will wonder what good Saint Francis of Assisi would have had to say about it. Another point of view, that of Mr. Bell, and his kind, he expresses as follows:

The average destruction of these animals is estimated to be for each wolf and mountain lion about \$1000 worth of live stock annually; each coyote and bobcat \$50 worth; and each stock-killing bear \$500 worth. Statistics may leave the stockman unmoved and uninterested, but a vivid, lasting impression is made when he finds one of his valuable steers pulled down by a wolf, one of his colts

struck down by a mountain lion, the scattered carcases of several of his sheep killed by coyotes for a sheer lust of killing, or a valuable cow maimed or with skull crushed by a blow from the powerful paw of a grizzly.

If, indeed, the world is to be turned over to the human species, and a certain number of them choose to occupy our Western plains and mountains as herdsmen, like those of the pastoral age, it is small wonder that Uncle Sam should come to their rescue, provided there is no other side of the story of their present struggle against the predatory animals, whose natural home has been invaded. Says Mr. Bell:

The following typical cases are illustrative of the destructiveness of the predatory animals, and of the importance of operations for their control: In Colorado a single wolf took toll of nearly \$3000 worth of cattle in one year. In Texas two wolves killed seventy-two sheep, valued at \$9 each, during a period of two weeks. One wolf in New Mexico killed twenty-five head of cattle in two months; while another was reported by stockmen in the same State to have killed 150 cattle, valued at not less than \$5000, during six months preceding

his capture by a Survey hunter. In Wyoming two male wolves were killed, which during one month had destroyed 150 sheep and seven colts; another pair were reported to have killed about \$4000 worth of stock during the year preceding their capture; while another, captured in June, had killed thirty head of cattle during the preceding spring. The county agricultural agent at Coalville, Utah, reported that wolves had taken 20 per cent. of the year's calf crop in that section. A wolf taken in New Mexico was known to have killed during the preceding five months twenty yearling steers, nine calves, one cow, fifteen sheep, and a valuable sheep dog. In two weeks at Ozona, Tex., two wolves killed seventy-six sheep.

In Oregon four coyotes in two nights killed fifteen pure-bred rams, valued at \$20 each. One flock in Morgan County, Utah, was attacked by three coyotes and \$500 worth of sheep were killed in an hour. Near Antonito, Colo., sixty-seven ewes, valued at about \$1000, became separated from the rest of the herd; all were found killed by coyotes.

After a personal investigation in 1917, the president of the State Agricultural College of New Mexico reported that 34,350 cattle, 165,000 sheep and 850 horses are killed annually by predatory animals in that State, these losses amounting to \$2,715,250. This involves the loss of 16,000,000 pounds of meat, and about 1,320,000 pounds of wool.

Japan's Insular Colonies

M. ROBERT CHAUVELOT, who writes copiously and gracefully on this subject in the *Revue Mondiale* for September 15, is a keen observer, with scientific training, who voyaged extensively in the Pacific during 1910-1911, and confesses that he enjoyed everywhere the hospitality of the Germans, who were then in power. In the Japanese character, colonizing methods, and ambitions he can see nothing to criticize nor to fear. His descriptive study widens at the close, to touch upon some of the largest problems in world politics.

The extraordinary birth-rate of Japan has nearly doubled her population within three decades, so the outward pressure is inevitable, whether the real policy of her rulers is truly imperialistic or not. While the United States regards itself as the especial protector of Chinese independence, and England has the most acute anxieties as to India, so the Frenchman's first thought is for Indo-China, where, in a region half again as large as France, some 15,000 of his countrymen hold in control more than a thousand times as many natives.

Though the southern and Malayan origin of the Japanese people is accepted as

unquestioned, they are described as fully settled and content in their northern archipelago. On the decidedly inadequate assurance of a "European diplomatic personality, whose name I have promised not to mention," the writer expects us to share his full confidence that the utmost extent of the actual Empire of the Rising Sun is to be over the islands from Saghalien to Formosa at most—with a parenthetical mention of a continental protectorate over Korea. Even "in Manchuria, as in eastern Siberia, China, and the Far East generally, nothing is sought beyond 'moral and commercial radiation,' the 'honorable wooing' of Prince Ito." The writer, however, avowedly derives his own confidence solely from "the policy, the military and naval action, of the successive (Nippon) cabinets from the treaty of Versailles to the present day," thus parrying any retort which recalls those destructive demands made upon China, just when the European Allies were most fully absorbed in the world-struggle.

The writer gives his warmest approval to "the remarkable spirit and method, the development of war and merchant marine, and the successful penetration, stamped with the most far-sighted modern human-



JAPAN AND HER ISLAND COLONIES

ity, of our eastern Allies and friends." This humane penetration includes, in Formosa, for example, a network of strategic cleared roads, punctuated by strong block-houses, with loop-holes, and made still more secure by elaborate entanglements of heavily charged electric wires—which are steadily encircling and civilizing the "rebellious," that is, the would-be independent native tribes. There is a large, well-trained body of militia, or constabulary force, of uniformed natives, officered and led by Japanese. Under such persuasion, even the chiefs of the most savage tribes are exchanging their ancestral pursuit of "head-hunting" for the peaceful and lucrative one of "camphor-hunting," in the pay of their new overlords.

The modern, well-equipped canning factories already supply very large quantities of fish, Japan's favorite food. In particular the herring and salmon appear in such immense and close-packed shoals that they not only are frequently lifted out of the

water with the bare hand, but upset and wreck the light boats and canoes of the fishermen! From the isles of Oceanica the chief return is still copra. Thence, also, the traveler brings back somewhat less marvelous tales, especially of the deep and prolonged diving by the islanders.

For a really burning question, in which we Americans also are directly concerned, the writer's own *closing* words should be given *in extenso*:

It is the question of the interests and of the status of the Japanese in the other islands of the Pacific, formerly German colonies, situated below the Equator, and which have become Australian and New Zealand possessions, likewise by the mandate of the League of Nations.

I voyaged in 1910-1911 among most of these islands, notably in German New Guinea and in the Bismarck Archipelago. I observed, three years before the war, that the Japanese enjoyed in all these various settlements all the recognized rights of foreigners—quite contrary to what is going on in Australia, in New Zealand, in Canada and the United States, where the subjects of the Mikado, characterized by law as "Mongolians" (along with the Chinese and Siamese), can acquire no title to real estate, because they are regarded as *non-citizens*.

This then is the question that arises: In these ex-German islands and archipelagos of the Pacific which have come under the domination of Australia and New Zealand, are the Japanese going to see themselves more rigorously and vexatiously treated than in the time of the Germans, and that by their Allies in the Great War, the Anglo-Saxon Dominions? In other words, will these Dominions, victorious and aggrandized, have the black ingratitude to ignore all that was done by Japan, the faithful and loyal ally of the British mother country?

It seems as if to put that question were to answer it, in the negative of course.

And if it be permitted me, in closing, to formulate a wish, I would utter my hope, that the affectionate efforts of France and of Italy may smooth away, by their friendly and prudent diplomacy, all future exasperation. That would be the best fashion to contribute to the consolidation of that world peace, so dearly bought, for which, under their allied wooden crosses on all the battle-fields, our immortal glorious heroes, already avenged, are waiting.

Medical Service by Radio

NOT long ago we read occasionally in the newspapers of cases in which sick or injured sailors on the high seas were treated *via* radio by doctors on shore. The age of miracles moves fast. The other day the procedure just mentioned was sporadic and exceptional, but now it is being systematized, standardized and made a matter of routine. How this has come about is told by Homer Croy in *Popular Radio* (N. Y.).

Probably few landsmen realize that doctors are rarely carried on vessels other than passenger ships. We read:

Many and many is the ship that has no doctor: freighters, cargo ships, tramp steamers, tankers, fruit boats, fishing vessels, schooners. In fact, only 25 per cent. of the ships that sail the seas carry doctors. There is a law which requires all ships with fifty or more in the crew to carry a radio outfit, but they may have a hundred in the crew and not have a doctor aboard—so long as they don't carry passengers. But a ship with even one paying passenger must have a doctor. It is one of the queer quirks of the law. To judge by the statutes a seaman is a hale and hearty individual who has felt well ever since he cut his teeth, while a passenger with nothing to do but sit around and enjoy himself is trembling on the brink of a breakdown.

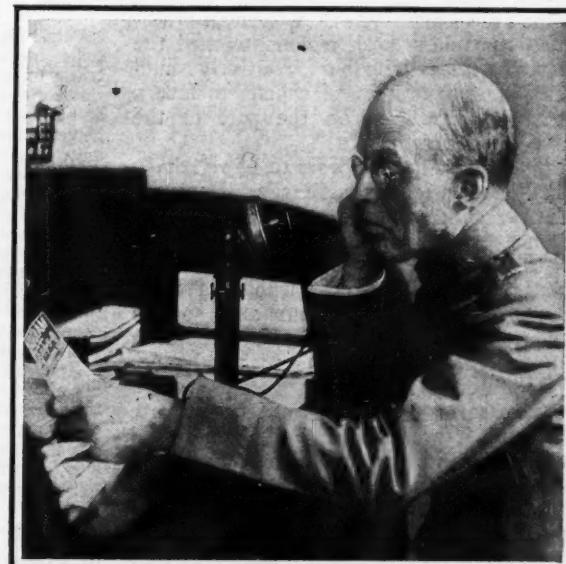
The English marine law is better than ours. By it the master of a vessel is required to know the principles of first aid. But we have no such law. The captain of an American freighter can put to sea without knowing a hypodermic needle from a belaying pin. The English captain, in time of emergency, can administer rough help, but our captain can only look sympathetic and offer to write to relatives. As a result, thousands of American seamen suffer. And the stories they can tell! Boxes fall on them, legs are crushed, fingers disappear in the machinery—and the captain is called on to perform the office of doctor. Sailors hold the screaming man while the captain amputates. There is no opiate; the victim is tied to the bunk and the ship goes on. Engine-room waste is used to bind wounds and oakum is poured on open sores. When there is a burn, lubricating oil is emptied on it and the crisis is considered past.

Such is the deplorable situation that is now being relieved through the magic of wireless. The new era was inaugurated at the suggestion of a veteran seaman, Captain Robert W. Huntington, who is

connected with the Seamen's Church Institute, as chief of the navigation school. The Institute has a medical staff, which gives advice to sailors ashore. The Captain conceived the idea of extending the activities of this staff over the seas. The matter was taken up with the authorities in Washington and the use of a Government wireless station was obtained. The new service was soon in full operation.

So far so good; a great boon had come to the seafarman—or so it seemed. But not as much oil had been poured on the troubled waters as the quieted waves might seem to indicate. Underneath, there was still something wrong. For many times when calls came in for help, and medical advice was sent back, the ship had none of the remedies suggested; in fact, outside of castor oil, calomel and quinine the ship's medical chest was as bare as Mother Hubbard's cupboard. The doctor might prescribe relief, but he had no means of knowing that the ship had this on board. He was prescribing in the dark. Then it was that Captain Huntington hit upon another idea—the idea of the standardized medicine chest.

Each ship going to sea was to be equipped with a medicine chest in which were to be all the standard drugs and remedies. These were to be plainly marked; the doctor was to know exactly what was aboard the ship and then he could dovetail complaint and treatment. The matter was taken up



DR. E. K. SPRAGUE, OF THE U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, GIVING MEDICAL ADVICE TO A DISTANT SHIP FROM THE NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS OF THE EMERGENCY RADIO SERVICE

with the Department of Commerce and was favorably received. It is now awaiting action. If passed it will bring relief to thousands of seamen who in the past, in the words of the fo'c'sle, have had to grin and bear it. The supplies are to be bought by the United States Public Health Service, that cheap and inferior drugs are not foisted upon the seamen, and inspected from time to time to see that their strength has not deteriorated.

The work of the Seamen's Church Institute continued, and legs were saved and stomachs were calmed, but the job became too big. It meant that an operator must be on duty day and night. Money was low; a few donations came in, but it was more than the Institute could manage on its slender resources. At last arrangements were consum-

mated with the Radio Corporation of America and this in turn with the United States Public Health Service. The doctors of the latter are at its call. It now has stations at Chatham, Mass.; Siasconset, Mass.; on the Bush Terminal Building, Brooklyn; one in Cape May, New Jersey; and another in San Francisco. The call letters, in order, are: WCC, WSC, WNY, WCY, and KPH for San Francisco.

Thousands and thousands of sailors—who once suffered and died needlessly—now, in whatever part of the world they are, can have medical aid within a few minutes. In fact, it is now possible for a sailor in the Sargasso Sea to get attention more quickly than if the doctor lived a few blocks up the street. With radio there is always a doctor at home. Radio has hung a shingle on every ship.

The Potash Fields of Alsace

IN THE *Revue Mondiale* for August, Louis Jacquet, an engineer, writes a brief but most interesting account of the great Alsatian potash deposits, first discovered by chance under the forest of Wittelsheim in 1909 by seekers for petroleum. These potash beds have multiplied the value of the province either to Germany or France. The former still possesses by far the largest beds anywhere known. They extend from Stassfurt in Prussian Saxony, where they have been worked for sixty years with great profit, nearly to Mecklenburg, covering some 1200 square miles. A German syndicate, controlling both regions, worked the Alsatian mines only on a relatively small scale; but have now, of course, to face a most bitter rivalry on the part of the French owners.

The Alsace field appears to be relatively small, about eighty square miles. However, the percentage of "pure potash" is much higher than at Stassfurt, averaging 20 per cent., as against 12 per cent., and the raw material consists almost wholly of "sylvinit" (double potassium and sodium chloride), while in Germany many potassic and sodic salts, including rock salt, are found intermingled.

The German beds almost defy estimate as to their gross value; but German and French scientific commissions have made successive estimates on the value of the Alsatian deposits, varying but little from twelve billion dollars.

In the decade just before the world war, the German syndicate (in which Kaiser Wilhelm himself had a large financial interest) brought the total annual output up to over a million tons of pure potash, of

which half was utilized in Germany, 25 per cent. exported to the United States, and the remainder disposed of to other foreign customers and German colonies, France obtaining only 40,000 tons.

As to the uses for salt peter and, eventually, explosives, nothing is said, beyond the passing remark that the uses in the arts, though numerous and important, exhaust comparatively little of the precious material.

Very remarkable are the figures indicating the stimulus given to German agriculture:

Potash is indispensable to cultivated land. A soil of medium fertility ought to contain from two-tenths to three-tenths of one per cent. of it. While this enrichment is especially essential to the vine and the potato, yet cereals, grazing land, grass and gardens, though they do not require so large an amount, cannot get on without it, and in all events the presence of the potash improves notably the results from cultivation. In this respect, furthermore, the example of Germany is quite convincing. If she has succeeded in obtaining from soil of quite mediocre fertility, regarded even as rather arid, like Pomerania and Brandenburg, for example, certainly much inferior to our own lands, average returns of 10.2 quintals of wheat and 103.35 quintals of potatoes, against 13.8 and 72.30 quintals in France, it must not be attributed to anything save a large and judicious use of fertilizers in general, but above all of potash fertilizers. In 1910, while the Germans were spreading 1025 kilos (2255 lbs.) on a square kilometre (250 acres) we were putting on only 70 kilos (154 lbs.)! Of course, we were absolutely dependent on them for this fertilizer, which we were using, as has been seen, only most sparingly.

An interesting contest is now in progress in France over the control of this great industry:

Since the armistice, all the German property has been confiscated, and after confiscation the work has been conducted by the Alsatian Commercial

Potash Company, at Mulhouse. This provisional arrangement has not yet been ended. In the administration of the confiscated property there is, it must be acknowledged, no evidence of neglect; since from 355,241 tons of crude salts taken out in 1913, the million mark was passed in 1920, though only to drop, it is true, to 902,166 tons in 1921. It will surely be realized that this provisional plan must be abandoned as soon as may be.

Dismissing the proposal of a mere government monopoly as being sufficiently condemned by recent painful experiences, the writer continues:

Of the two other projects, the one, advocated by the Alsatian members of parliament, would consist of a concession to a *single company*, capable, as they think, of realizing a better return, having greater facilities for the best technical management and being above all in a better position to contend against German competition, particularly in foreign markets. The other, offered by the government, carries with it the division of the mines among four companies, with financial participation by the state, which remains the owner and reserves the right of comptrollership.

The first concession would be limited to the rural savings banks of the new departments which have again become French, Upper Rhine, Lower Rhine, and Moselle (*i.e.* Alsace and Lorraine); the second, to the present Alsatian-Lotharingian holders of shares and various Alsatian interests; the third to

French agriculturalists, and to the state participation; the fourth to chemical manufacturers and others consuming potash and its salts. These four companies, finally, would be combined in a single Consortium, similar to the German combine which has accomplished such excellent results, and having sole charge of sales to other countries.

It certainly seems as if this last combination were the best, for an undertaking of such importance is surely of a nature to exceed the capacity of a single company.

The writer's hope is to attain in five years an annual production of one million tons of pure potash, reached by the German masters of Alsace in 1915, with a present market value of \$100,000,000.

The closing words have the usual tang of all French political or even economic utterances at the present time:

Nor must the fact be lost sight of that during this period the Germans, who have a thousand reasons for dreading our competition, will not be idle. Not only are they seeking to reduce in every way the cost of production, but they are multiplying their efforts to secure the foreign markets, and, above all, that of the United States, the largest purchaser in this line. We have paid the price to realize that they are adepts at economic propaganda, at "dumping" and at lowering the value of the mark.

Fabre's Scientific Shortcomings

IN AMERICA we have had some prominent "nature-writers" whose names are conspicuously absent from bibliographies of the serious literature of natural history, and who were, in fact, complete nonentities from the scientific point of view. Their works are naturally and necessarily replete with scientific blunders. Jean Henri Fabre, the French entomologist, was not a naturalist of this type. He was a trained scientist and a writer of formal scientific books and papers, as well as of the charming essays that have made him famous throughout the world. The reverence felt for him by the public at large is shared by professional entomologists, and thus it happens that Dr. L. O. Howard, Chief of the Bureau of Entomology of the United States Department of Agriculture, took advantage of a recent professional visit to the south of France to make what he calls a "pilgrimage" to the former home of Fabre, "Harmas," in the village of Serignan. This visit he describes in *Natural History*, the periodical issued by the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

The trip was made in company with two well-known French entomologists, Dr. Paul Marchal and Prof. P. Vayssiére, the latter a former pupil of Fabre and a son of one of Fabre's old friends and neighbors. On arriving at the house, says Dr. Howard,

We dismounted, rang the bell at the gate, and presently heard slow, approaching footsteps. The gate was opened by a little, old, bent, gray-haired woman, apparently between sixty and seventy years of age, whom Vayssiére addressed as Demoiselle Fabre; and he was recognized in turn when he mentioned his name. He introduced Marchal and myself, and the introduction was acknowledged very quietly without a smile or without any special cordiality, as though it were a quite-to-be-expected thing that eminent scientific Frenchmen and foreign men of science should call to see her father's house.

The writer describes the house, which he says is "a good one, hardly beautiful," and the garden, covering nearly an acre, in which were flying about probably the descendants of some of the very insects studied by the famous naturalist. After this description we come to the part of Dr. Howard's article that will undoubtedly provide a shock for a host of people who



Photographed by J. G. Pratt from medal owned by Dr. Howard
THE FABRE JUBILEE MEDAL STRUCK IN 1910

have accepted Fabre's writings as gospel truth. The doctor tells of the profound emotion he felt in standing where Fabre had stood, walking upon the ground he had traversed for so many years, and looking upon the apparatus used in his classic experiments. He adds:

I said something of this sort to my companions and I was rather shocked to find that they did not entirely share my admiration for the great writer. I mentioned Professor Bouvier's eulogium published in the *Revue générale des Sciences pures et appliquées* in Paris, 1915, and they responded by asking me whether I knew the summary of Fabre's life and works by Ferton, published in *Revue Scientifique* in September, 1916. I was aware that Fabre's theories had frequently been attacked and that he had made many critics by his pronounced anti-evolutionary views, but I did not know that his accuracy as an observer was subject to serious challenge. But these men told me that, while Fabre ranks among the great in France as a popularizer of science and as a writer of wonderful charm, he has made too many mistakes to be considered a scientific light of unblemished luster.

Since then I have read Ferton's account. Ferton himself died in 1921, in Corsica, where he had lived for the fifteen or more years prior to his death. He was a retired officer of artillery, and for many years has been adjudged the keenest and most careful student of the habits of bees and wasps, and especially of the instincts of these creatures, that France has produced. He was, therefore, entirely competent to criticize a large part of Fabre's work. I have often been asked my estimate of Fabre, but I have never made any studies of the especial insects the lives of which he has immortalized, and I have al-



THE FABRE JUBILEE MEDAL STRUCK IN 1910

ways been inclined to accept the popular judgment of the man. In fact, aside from Ferton's article, everything that has been written about Fabre since his death has been panegyrical. No word of criticism seems to have been uttered. Perhaps this is hardly fair to his numerous readers and admirers. At all events, let us look at him for a moment through the truthful, trained, and thoroughly scientific eyes of Ferton, who states distinctly that Fabre had his weak side and that his published works have shown a trace of this side. He says: "It is our duty to show our great men just as they were. Their fame will not be diminished by this; and Fabre, in spite of his errors, will remain the great Fabre to whom we owe many beautiful and important discoveries, described in marvelous and enthusiastic language. It is with this thought that I allow myself to make certain criticisms."

By far the greater part of Ferton's long essay is appreciative. He analyzes Fabre's character; he dwells at length upon many of his most interesting researches, and praises to an extreme the charm of his literary style. He charges him, however, with ignorance of, or non-acknowledgment of, the work of others; with carelessness as to the true identity of the species with which he worked; and with faulty observation or incorrect statement concerning one or more of the species that he studied. In each of these charges he brings forward his evidence in a rather conclusive way, but we have no space in this article to give his details. Although praising Fabre's charming literary style, he nevertheless charges him with undue redundancy, and, in at least one instance, with imagining an incident that could never have occurred. He insists that Fabre's bitter complaints about the material difficulties of life and his accusations against society were unjustified, and that he had a comfortable income for very many years, his chronic impecuniosity coming from his indifference to domestic economy.

News of Nature's World

Blossoms of the Autumn

BOTH the closed and the fringed gentians add patches of a beautiful blue to the sombre colors of the roadsides and meadows these days. The corolla of the former is tightly closed at the mouth, and, as Thoreau says, is a "transcendent blue," a "splendid blue, light in the shade, turning purple with age," "bluer than the bluest sky, they lurk in the moist and shady recesses of the banks." The botanists do not pretend to say why they are closed. The fringed form shows its four lobes spreading prettily, and of "Heaven's own blue," as Bryant said, smiling up out of the moist meadows. If the season be mild, the blossoms often linger until late in November; but as the seeds are easily washed away, they are apt to change their abiding places.

Who Paints the Leaves?

In the summer-time, when the trees are full of life and strength, their leaves are green, because they contain a great deal of a substance called chlorophyll, which gives them their beautiful color. In the autumn, this green color begins to run out of the leaves, through the stems and into the twigs and wood of the branches. But in doing this it leaves a yellow substance which had been hidden in the green; and other substances which turn red in the cooler air. That is why the red colors (and the yellow, too) appear when the cool autumn nights follow the warm days. So if it is Jack Frost who makes the nights cool, it is also he who turns the leaves yellow and red, whatever is said about him by those who don't believe in him.

Entertaining Angels Unawares

In one of her books about flowers Mrs. Parsons tells how, at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, in 1876, there was much admiration for a bed of beautiful blossoms, which had been brought from Holland. Many of the admirers were, and probably remained, totally unaware that what they were admiring was the common American butterfly-weed, one of our common autumn flowers, seen in American meadows and pastures, about this time. The plant grows to a height of about two feet, and is surmounted by a flat-topped cluster of bright, orange-red blossoms. In

summer and autumn these flowers are likely to be surrounded by swarms of butterflies, but the pretty picture is likely to be lost upon people who go tearing along the roads in motor cars. The plant has little of the milky juice of its namesake, but its seeds are attached to silky tufts, on which they float away, to be distributed by the breezes. "Pleurisy-root" is another name the plant got, from the common belief that from its roots could be made a medicine which would cure pleurisy. From the flowers, the Indians made a kind of sugar, and the young seedpods they boiled for a side-dish to be eaten with buffalo-meat.

The "Deadly" Nightshade

Few colors of the autumn woods are more beautiful than the bright red of the nightshade's cluster of drooping berries. "Deadly," these berries have been called, which is an exaggeration, though they are more or less poisonous and should never be eaten. "But," as Thoreau said, "why should they not be poisonous? Would it not be bad taste to eat those berries which are ready to feed another sense?" Which sounds like Thoreau, a man who had many queer ideas, but who nevertheless knew nature pretty well, and loved the out-of-doors.

The Most Diurnal of Creatures

Apparently the most diurnal of contemporaneous living creatures is the beautiful Arctic tern, a bird about fifteen inches long, with pearl gray back, wings and breast, and a fine, long, deeply-forked tail, like a barn swallow's. About the middle of June, the female bird lays her three or four eggs on the tundra, as far north as land has ever been discovered, in a little hollow scooped out of the snow. The eggs are hatched and the chicks are fledged by about the middle of August, while the midnight sun is still above the horizon. As soon as they are ready, the birds begin their marvelous southward flight, which carries them in a more or less zig-zag line, in about ten weeks' time, to the very edge of the Antarctic continent, measured, in a straight line, a distance of about 11,000 miles. There the terns tarry, probably a few weeks longer than in their northern home, to which they return, by a different route, from that by which they reached their

southern one. Therefore, the birds traverse at least 22,000 miles, and see at least eight months of daylight each year.

Majesty of the Eagle's Presence

About the finest appreciation of the life of the Bald Eagle, the national emblem, is that which was expressed incidentally, by John Burroughs, in one of his nature essays:

He draws great lines across the sky; he sees the forest like a carpet beneath him, he sees the hills and the valleys as folds and wrinkles in a many-colored tapestry; he sees the river as a silver belt connecting remote horizons. We climb mountain-peaks to get a glimpse of the spectacle that is hourly spread out beneath him. Dignity, elevation, repose, are his. I would have my thoughts take as wide a sweep. I would be as far removed from the petty cares and turmoils of this noisy and blustering world.

Song of the Hermit Thrush

There is no more beautiful song in the American woods than that of the common hermit thrush, whose recital is over now for the year, as he makes his way to his winter home in the southland. And there is no finer appreciation of this angelic utterance than is that of John Burroughs:

A few nights ago I ascended a mountain to see the world by moonlight; and when near the summit the hermit commenced his evening hymn a few rods away from me. Listening to this strain on the lone mountain, with the full moon just rounded from the horizon, the pomp of your cities and the pride of your civilization seemed trivial and cheap.

Growth of Young Birds

Because of the conditions under which young birds grow, naturally it is difficult to indicate the rate at which certain physical developments occur. All sorts of statements on the subject are printed in newspapers, but few are more than mere guesses. A cedar waxwing has been known in an actual experiment to double its weight on the first day of its life out of the egg form; on the second day, its weight had increased three-fold, and on the third it had nearly quadrupled. Twelve days after appearing from the egg, its weight had increased thirteen-fold. It is amusing to think what would happen if anything like the same rates of increase were applied to human infants. An ordinary infant, weighing nine pounds at birth, would weigh twenty-seven pounds on its second day, and on its third day would weigh about thirty pounds—sizable infant—while at its twelfth (daily) birthday it would tip the scales at 108 pounds! The comparison at least serves to

indicate the amount of work a bird mother must do, in taking care of perhaps four lusty children, at the same time; and the amount of food each assimilates, per day.

A Butcher in Feathers

Our readers who live in the central or Western States are likely to have a glimpse, during the winter months, of one of the strangest of our native birds, the northern shrike, or butcher-bird—or, perhaps, the logger-head or the migrant shrike—somewhat variant forms of the same species. The first-named form breeds in what the scientists call the "Hudsonian zone," and winters southward to Central California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Kentucky, and Virginia. It appears in Southern New York from the end of October until the first of April, in Northern Ohio, in Western Massachusetts, and elsewhere throughout the Central States.

The butcher-bird fairly earns its rather ominous name by its habit of catching and killing its prey—chiefly meadow mice, grasshoppers, and small birds—with its bill, an unhawk-like process; and impaling them on thorns, the barbed-wire of fences, and sharp twigs; or even lodging them in the crotches of limbs. True hawks do none of these things, but kill and carry off their victims in their powerful talons, and employ their bills only for tearing or devouring their prey.

Evidently, the butcher-bird was forced to adopt his bill, which is hooked at the end and powerful, because his feet are small and relatively weak, making poor weapons for offense or defense. He even carries his prey with his bill, because his claws are so weak that he evidently has learned not to trust to them for any purpose, excepting in perching.

The bird's hunting habits are also peculiar, and are much like those of the fly-catchers. It is likely to be seen perched on a tree-top, or telegraph line, or a weather-vane, where it waits patiently for its prey to appear. The small birds know well that it is their mortal foe, and a butcher-bird's presence may often be told by the fact that small insectivorous birds will suddenly "freeze"—become rigid—even before the murderer has been seen by a human observer.

The bird is a little larger than the common robin; its upper parts are gray, the wings and tail are mostly black, with the outer feathers partly—sometimes entirely—black.

THE NEW BOOKS

World Politics

The Wreck of Europe. By Francesco Nitti. Indianapolis: The Bobbs, Merrill Company. 304 pp.

Professor Christian Gauss, of Princeton University, has translated the second revised and enlarged edition of ex-Premier Nitti's work. Publication of the original edition on the Continent and in England resulted in much unfavorable criticism. Signor Nitti is a trained economist as well as a statesman of unusual abilities, and his book was largely devoted to a discussion of the faults of the Versailles Treaty. In general, it may be said that he supports the position taken more than two years ago by John Maynard Keynes, but goes to far greater lengths in denouncing the economic failings of the Treaty.

Cross Currents in Europe To-day. By Charles A. Beard. Boston: Marshall Jones Co. 278 pp.

An intelligent analysis of Europe's economic and political situation from an American point of view.

Professor Beard has made a careful study of the diplomatic revelations of the past four years, and his whole discussion is based on historical fact as authenticated by documents. He refrains throughout from dogmatic statement.

The Russian Turmoil. By General A. I. Denikin. E. P. Dutton & Company. 344 pp. Ill.

Although General Denikin first won international renown as commander-in-chief of one of the Russian movements against the Bolsheviks, he had a distinguished record in the Russian Imperial Army, and played an important part in the original campaign against Germany. This volume of memoirs, military, social and political, is mainly concerned with an account of the Russian Revolution. He saw with the eyes of a staff officer the dissolution of the great military machine, as a part of which he had spent a long life, having risen to high rank after years of faithful service under two Czars.

History

A History of California: the American Period. By Robert Glass Cleland. Macmillan Company. 512 pp. Ill.

Excellent work is being done by the younger historians of the Pacific Coast. Some months ago we had occasion to notice Dr. Charles E. Chapman's history of the Spanish Period in California, and now there appears a volume devoted to the American period, by Dr. Robert G. Cleland. Few of our States have had so romantic, not to say dramatic, episodes in their history as are recorded in these two volumes. The early days of trading and exploring, the separation of California from Mexico, the gold rush, the Overland Mail, and the building of the Pacific Railroad all fall within the scope of Dr. Cleland's book. Those were stirring times on the Coast, and the recital nowhere lags in interest.

Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt. By Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. Albert A. Knopf. 416 pp.

The English diplomat and traveler, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who died last month, probably had a more intimate knowledge of inside facts relating to England's occupation of Egypt than any other Englishman. For many years the present volume remained in manuscript, because publication would have been clearly against the interests of the British

Government. The work was practically completed as long ago as 1895, was revised in 1904, and published in 1907. An interesting appendix to the volume is Arabi's account of his life and of the events of 1881-82 as related to Mr. Blunt in Arabic in 1903.

The New Larned History. By J. N. Larned. Springfield: C. A. Nichols Publishing Company. Vol. I: A to Balk. 838 pp. Ill.

The late J. N. Larned, of the Buffalo Public Library, originated what he called "A History for Ready Reference," made up of extracts from the writings of standard historians. This work was alphabetically arranged, like an encyclopædia, and has been widely used. The publishers have now undertaken a complete revision and enlargement of the history under the editorship of Dr. Donald E. Smith, with a competent corps of researchers and readers. Many excellent illustrations and maps have been inserted. The first volume, which has now come from the press, gives abundant promise of a new "Larned," which bids fair to be even more useful to the coming generation than its predecessor has been in the past. About 70 per cent. of the old material has been retained in the present work, and 60 per cent. of the new work comprises additional material brought together by the present editorial organization. Mechanically, the work is entirely new.

Biography and Reminiscence

John Burroughs Talks. By Clifton Johnson. Houghton Mifflin Company. 358 pp. Ill.

These conversations with John Burroughs, recorded during more than a quarter of a century by Mr. Johnson, are more frank in their comment on contemporary personalities than any of the published works of Burroughs himself. There are interesting passages devoted to Theodore Roosevelt, Thomas A. Edison and Henry Ford, who were close friends of Burroughs, and other chapters which reveal the intimate opinions of the Sage of Slab-sides on various topics of the day. Best of all, however, are the reminiscences of Burroughs' early life.

Glimpses of Authors. By Caroline Ticknor. Houghton Mifflin Company. 355 pp.

Miss Ticknor is a granddaughter of the founder of the famous publishing house of Ticknor and Fields, which brought out the works of practically all the authors who made up the "New England group" of the mid-nineteenth century, started the *Atlantic Monthly*, and paid royalties to eminent British authors before there was an international copyright. The personal relations between the members of the house and their literary clients were peculiarly close. For many years Mr. W. D. Ticknor and Mr. James T. Fields carried the confidences of authors on both sides of the Atlantic. To the fund of information about the personalities of American and English writers thus acquired by the elders, Miss Ticknor seems to have fallen heir. Her book

is full of entertaining chat about the literary lions of the past generation, much of which now reaches the general public for the first time.

Mr. Dickens Goes to the Play. By Alexander Woolcott. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 239 pp. Ill.

By employing an ingenious method Mr. Woolcott makes a fresh presentation of one phase of Dickens' career which seems to have received from students less attention than it deserved—namely, his long-continued interest in the theater. It will surprise not a few admirers of Dickens, the novelist, to learn that at more than one stage of his career he figured as a disappointed and unsuccessful playwright. Mr. Woolcott has drawn upon the letters of Dickens, as well as passages from his novels and fugitive writings, and added to the assembled material his own intelligent comment.

The Letters of Horace Howard Furness. Edited by H. H. F. J. Houghton Mifflin Company. Vol. I. 351 pp. Ill. Vol. II. 296 pp. Ill.

The late Dr. Furness, of Philadelphia, was known the world over as a Shakespearean scholar. He had a wide circle of friends who enjoyed his letters during his lifetime, and much of this striking correspondence is now shared with the public. The references to Shakespeare in these letters are few and far between, excepting in those instances where Dr. Furness is addressing a fellow specialist.

Description and Travel

What I Saw in America. By G. K. Chesterton. Dodd, Mead & Company. 296 pp.

American readers generally will be amused by Mr. Chesterton's book, and few if any will find in it, we believe, any reason for displeasure. It will impress almost all of them as a remarkably wise, witty and penetrating analysis of things American. In short, no recent visitor from England has come so near to hitting the bull's-eye in his printed observations.

The Russian Immigrant. By Jerome Davis. Macmillan. 219 pp.

This is the first book in the English language dealing specifically with the condition of the Russians who have settled in the United States. The author has made a cross-section of the outstanding social forces acting on the Russian immigrant in this country. Much of the information that he gives is almost as new to American readers as it would be to a foreigner. For example, the country at large has known little concerning the early Russian migrations to Alaska and California. There are chapters on "The Russian in His Home Environment"; "Organized Social Forces, Religious and Educational"; and "The Russian's Relation to Our Government." Dr. Davis has packed the 200 pages of his book with illuminating facts.

The Charm of the Middle Kingdom. By James Reid Marsh. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 245 pp. Ill.

Mr. Marsh served for many months as an official of the Chinese Customs. He learned to speak and write the Chinese language, and this fact, as well as his official position, opened to him many opportunities for studying the land and people, which to most travelers would have remained closed. In recounting his experiences he has achieved the kind of informality which adds so much to the attractiveness of travel books. One would never be reminded, in reading his pages, that the author had any official relation to the Chinese Government—much less to the prosaic duties of a customs officer!

Sentinels Along Our Coast. By Francis A. Collins. The Century Company. 272 pp.

Few realize the magnitude of the American Light-house Service which guards our 48,000 miles of coast-line. In this volume Mr. Collins tells the story of our whole system of lighthouse protection, not only on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, but along the Great Lakes, on the Mississippi and in the Philippines. The final chapter is devoted to the latest developments in the art of steering by radio compass.